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JPRS-EPS-84-119

27 September 1984

19990322 044

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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27 September 1984

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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BULGARIA

BULGARIAN ARMY DAILY ON BETTER PROPAGANDA TRAINING

AU140929 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Sep 84 p 2

[Editorial Article: "With a New Approach to Propaganda Gatherings"]

[Text] The organization and implementation of propaganda gatherings is one of the major events during the period of preparation for the new training year in the army and involves great responsibility. The hitherto accumulated experience shows that such gatherings offer great opportunities for improving the training and qualifications of group leaders in Marxist-Leninist and political training in the army and for clarifying and specifying the new tasks of these group leaders. We can say that the aforementioned gatherings are of basic importance for a successful beginning in the political training and education of soldiers, sergeants, and officers during the forthcoming training year.

The subjects of the gatherings must be conceived in accordance with certain peculiarities and specific tasks stemming from the decisions and instructions of the BCP Central Committee and from the changes in the military-political situation in the world and on the Balkans. The following criteria should be observed in this connection:

1. The party is adopting decisive measures for a practical implementation of the Long-Term Quality Improvement Program. In this respect the gatherings must contribute to the consolidation of party criteria as regards quality and efficiency in Marxist-Leninist and political training. This is why each implemented measure must set an example of high quality and efficiency.
2. Due to the imperialists in the United States and NATO the military-political situation continues to complicate. Along with intense military preparations, imperialism is conducting a fierce, anticomunist propaganda. Insolent and outrageous slanders and provocations against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the USSR, and other socialist countries are being spread. The propaganda gatherings must equip the group leaders with solid notions and methodological skill as well as with instructions for the implementation of a successful counterpropaganda against the bourgeois ideological diversions.
3. The new subject plans of Marxist-Leninist and political training must exert a decisive influence upon the gatherings. This means that the major part of the training exercises must be aimed at clarifying their subjects and at the

training of group leaders for practical implementation of training. It is urgently necessary to introduce a more specific character and greater differentiation in selecting initiatives for the group leaders in conformity with different subject plans.

What other questions should the commanders and political organs devote their attention to in order to make the gatherings proceed at a level of high quality and in order to help them achieve the goals and tasks assigned to them?

We must overcome traditionalism and clinches in preparing the evaluations of the political departments on the work of group leaders. The specific character of the work demands a differentiation between the evaluation of permanent seminars and the evaluation of the work of group leaders on Marxist-Leninist and political training. The evaluations must give a clear idea about the character of the subjects which are being analyzed and about the skill of group leaders in making the soldiers, sergeants, officers, military employees, and workers thoroughly understand and permanently apply these subjects in their activities and personal behavior. The conclusions and analyses must be based on specific factual material, and not on generalizations and recommendations, not on repetitions of statements delivered by superior organs or published in the press.

The experience of the past training year confirmed the fact that the gatherings are useful because of the exchange of advanced experience that is taking place during them. For this purpose we must give the floor to those group leaders who really can impart their successes, and they should be heard. In addition to this, everyone should be given the opportunity to express his opinions and thoughts on the tasks, essence, and contents of the exercises, on the difficulties they encounter, and to submit bold proposals for changes in the present approach, content, and forms of the Marxist-Leninist and political training studies.

Certain leaders should be assigned the task, within the forthcoming year, of experimenting with some new forms and methods of work in the spirit of contemporary requirements and the task of working in research and engaging in experimental activities during the forthcoming year.

In selecting measures promoting the ideological-political methodological training of group leaders it is necessary to adhere to the fundamental principle--quality, not quantity. This principle is fully conformed to the present party approach about improving quality. The lecturers should be selected with great care. The basic questions of the subject should be agreed upon in advance with authoritative military and civilian lecturers who have already asserted themselves. In this connection, we should be guided by the basic principle that not the subject on which the given lecturer has prepared himself is important, but that the lecture should conform to what the group leaders are interested in and wish to hear. More local lecturers should be used. The detachments have a sufficient number of capable and skilled propagandists, group leaders, commanders, and political workers whose lectures are of interest to the audience.

The new school year on Marxist-Leninist and political training will begin with the study of three subjects concerning the problems of the Long Term Quality Improvement Program. In addition to lectures, the group leaders must be given specific instruction-methodological guidance on these subjects, because no specific subject analyses and text-books will be issued on them.

Along with the lectures and reports on the first 2-3 subjects, it would be expedient to organize visits to leading economic enterprises and to meet their managements. Everything the group leaders see and hear there should be written down and used in teaching the respective subject.

The gatherings must devote enough time to the improvement of the group leaders' methodological training. Naturally, this can be achieved through any exercise (or study) whatsoever. As to specific methodological measures, we can recommend practical exercises, training with technical means of propaganda and agitation, as well as preparation of tests and cases, and so forth. It would be expedient for group leaders to impart greater knowledge as regards the application of problems in political training and education through methods and means which stimulate interest in the informative value of ideological-political knowledge, in rhetoric, and so forth.

The quality and efficiency of propaganda gatherings depends to a great extent upon the state of organization and discipline of their implementation. We should not tolerate absences due to leave, non-presence on duty, guard duty, and other official obligations. It would be better to hold the gatherings of propagandists in 2 or 3 places at the same time, since the gatherings of too many people in one place leads to "organized" hearing of lectures and prevents the individual participation of group leaders in demonstrations and practical (training) exercises.

In working out plans for the gatherings and in selecting initiatives we must base ourselves on the specific state of Marxist-Leninist and political training and on the needs of the leaders in detachments. It is necessary to be well informed about their opinions and decide upon their greatest needs. It is necessary to know what they would like to hear and see. According to a well-established tradition, the gathering must devote time to hearing a report of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army on topical subjects of ideological work. It would be expedient to envisage a brief meeting with the respective commander, to award the best propaganda workers, to devote time to cultural recreation, and so forth.

Generally speaking, in preparing and implementing gatherings with propaganda workers, commanders, and political bodies, it is necessary to display more specific analysis, more creative spirit and elan.

All efforts must be aimed at the quality and efficiency of all measures. The propaganda workers must be informed on topical demands and criteria of the party for quality and for fruitful ideological work. The gatherings must contribute to a change in the approach and in the way of thought of group leaders on problems of quality and efficiency with regards to political-educational work.

BULGARIA

[Text] September 13 (BTA)--Today Mr Grisha Filipov received Mr Abdullah Tenekeci, minister of state of Turkey and leader of the Turkish delegation for the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

TURKEY'S TENEKECI ATTENDS 40TH REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Meets Filipov

AU131914 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 13 Sep 84

[Text] September 13 (BTA)--Today Mr Grisha Filipov received Mr. Abdullah Tenekeci, minister of state of Turkey and leader of the Turkish delegation for the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The guest thanked [words omitted] for the invitation and gave a high assessment to Bulgaria's achievements in all spheres of life.

Mr Grisha Filipov and Mr Abdullah Tenekeci, who chairs the Turkish side of the Bulgaro-Turkish Committee for Economic, Industrial and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, gave a positive evaluation to the economic relations between the two countries. The two parties to the talks pointed out that there exist a number of unused possibilities for broadening economic contacts especially in the sphere of trade, industrial cooperation, transport, agriculture, and tourism. They expressed the conviction that the ninth session of the joint committee which is now being held here will contribute to the activization of these contacts.

Second Filipov Meeting

TA131927 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1600 GMT 13 Sep 84

[Text] State Minister Abdullah Tenekeci is continuing to hold official talks in Bulgaria. This afternoon he held a second meeting with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Grisha Filipov, in Sofia. The economic relations between the two countries were discussed.

Tenekeci is expected to be received by State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov tomorrow. Meanwhile, the joint Turkish-Bulgarian economic cooperation committee ended its meetings in Sofia today. A protocol will be signed tomorrow.

Tenekeci Tours Varna Installations

TA121652 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1600 GMT 12 Sep 84

[Text] State Minister Abdullah Tenekeci is continuing his talks in Bulgaria. He toured transportation and industrial installations in Varna today and was accompanied by Bulgarian Transportation Minister Tsanov. Tenekeci will return to Sofia tomorrow morning where he will attend the last part of the joint Turkish-Bulgarian Economic and Technical Cooperation Committee meetings. A protocol is expected to be signed at the end of the meetings.

CSO: 2200/202

BULGARIA

NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION DEPARTS

AU161702 Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 16 Sep 84

[Text] Sofia, 16 Sep (BTA)--A Norwegian parliamentary delegation led by Mr Thor Knudsen, chairman of the Lagtinget, was on a one week visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the National Assembly of Bulgaria.

The delegation was received by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and by Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian foreign minister. At the talks with a delegation of the National Assembly led by the chairman of the National Assembly Mr Stanko Todorov, a number of bilateral relations issues were discussed as well as the roles of the parliaments of the two countries in their further development. Great attention was paid to issues related to consolidating peace and the role of the two countries in this process.

The Norwegian guests visited Varna, Tolbukhin, Blagoevgrad and Sandanski, resort and spa centres, historical and cultural monuments, agro-industrial complexes, scientific institutes and plants.

Before leaving this country, Mr Thor Knudsen, the leader of the delegation, said the following to a BTA reporter: "I am left with the impression that Bulgaria's agriculture and industry are developing steadily. The rapid housing construction is most acutely felt. I was very impressed by the organization of your agriculture and the Varna ship hydrodynamics institute is a really up-to-date scientific centre. You have wonderful resort and spa centres.

"I think that our visit was fruitful and I believe that in the coming several years Bulgaro-Norwegian relations will broaden both in trade and in economy. The two countries belong to different social systems but this must not hamper the dialogue and cooperation between them. This is where the parliamentarians come--our task is to broaden the contacts between the peoples, to bring them closer. In my country we understand the paramount importance of cooperation between the peoples. I am convinced that our two countries, each on its own way of development, work and will continue to work for consolidating peace and for disarmament."

CSO: 2200/202

BULGARIA

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ORGANS DAY CELEBRATED

AU141832 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 84

[Text] The day of the organs of the Ministry of Interior--15 September--was festively celebrated on Ofia today.

Born in the stormy days of socialist revolution, for as long as 40 years these organs have loyally served the party as its militant detachment and are guaranteeing with selfless devotion our country's security, they are defending and protecting the material and cultural achievements of our people.

The festive meeting was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Atanasov, and Emil Khristov.

A report was read by Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, minister of the interior.

He pointed out as follows in his report:

[Begin Stoyanov recording]: All positive achievements and successes of the Ministry of Interior and its organs during the last 40 years are due to the selfless efforts and the selfless devotion of the employees--communists, komsomol members, and non-party people--as well as to the broad support of the working people. These successes have been achieved under the leadership and control of the BCP Central Committee, of the Politburo, and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, personally. All employees of the ministry are infinitely grateful for the constant care, attention, and trust demonstrated toward us, for the systematic and specific leadership and support in the contemporary development and construction of our organs. Permit me to assure the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo, and Comrade Zhivkov, personally, that we, the employees of the Ministry of Interior, are united and rallied around the general April line of the party, and that we will continue to participate with selfless devotion in the struggle for the protection and construction of a mature socialist society, for the prosperity of our beloved homeland. (Applause)  
[End of recording]

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov further dealt with the successes of our country in socialist construction, with the role and significance of the Ministry of Interior organs in protecting the socialist revolution and in strengthening

the people's government. The report stressed that the employees of the Ministry of Interior are adopting with deep conviction the new party plans as their own program and are actively implementing them in practical life. These organs are basing their work on the principles of socialist democracy and humanitarianism, and are placed under the steady control of the people, the party, and the government.

The USSR Committee of State Security and USSR Ministry of Interior conveyed their greetings. Mikhail Mayski, hero of socialist labor, spoke on behalf of the Sofia working people.

CSO: 2200/202

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

NIGERIAN DEFENSE MINISTER--At the invitation of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, Major General Domkat Bali, member of the Supreme Military Council and minister of defense of Nigeria, arrived late last night in our country for a vacation. Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the People's Army General Staff, and generals and officers of the Army welcomed the Nigerian guest at the Sofia airport. Dimitur Vulev, Bulgarian ambassador to Nigeria, and (Emua Aduk), secretary at the Nigerian Embassy in Sofia, were also among those present at the airport. [Text] [AU151401 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0300 GMT 15 Sep 84]

STANISHEV MEETS ISRAELI CP'S HENIN--Sofia, 14 Sep (BTA)--Today, Mr Dimitur Stanishev met with Mr David (Sasha) Henin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Israel. They exchanged opinions on topical issues of the international communist and workers' movement, as well as on issues related to the situation in the world paying special attention to the situation in the Middle East. They discussed the ways to the further consolidation and broadening of the relations between the two parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Identical opinions were expressed on all issues discussed. [Text] [AU142105 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 14 Sep 84]

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR CEREMONY--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Ministry of Interior organs, representatives of the ministry laid wreaths at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum. They also laid wreaths at the monument of the heroes killed in the struggle against fascism and capitalism; other wreaths on behalf of the Ministry of Interior were laid at the monument of the unknown soldier, at the partisans' monument in the park of freedom, and at the Soviet Army monument in Sofia. The ceremony was attended by Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of interior, by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of defense and chief of staff of the People's Army, by deputy ministers, officials from the Ministry of Interior, generals, officers of the army, and by numerous citizens. Soldiers presented arms. [Text] [AU151525 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 15 Sep 84]

NICARAGUAN, LIBYAN DELEGATIONS DEPART--The delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua, headed by Tomas Borge, member of the National Leadership of the

Sandinista National Liberation Front, and minister of the interior; and the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, headed by Muhammad al-Zarruq Rajab, secretary of the General People's Congress, have departed from our country. They participated in the celebrations on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution. The delegations were seen off at Sofia Airport by Comrades Dimitur Stoyanov and Andrey Lukanov, as well as by the two countries' ambassadors to Bulgaria. [Text] [AU141725 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 84 p 6]

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS REPORTED DEPARTING--The following foreign delegations which participated in the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of socialist revolution in Bulgaria departed from our country yesterday. The delegation of the Republic of Cuba, headed by Juan Almeida Bosque, Politburo member of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the National Committee for Party Control; the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, led by Hun Sen, member of the Politburo of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs; the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, headed by Muhammad Zurhayr Mashariqa, vice president and general secretary of the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party; and the delegation of the International Union of Students, led by its General Secretary Yeoryios Mikhalidhis. The delegations were seen off at Sofia Airport by Comrades Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Vasil Tsanov, as well as by leaders of sociopolitical organizations. Heads and members of diplomatic missions from countries which the guests represented, were also present at Sofia Airport. [Text] [AU141131 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Sep 84 p 8]

LEADERS AT FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY MEETING--On 17 September at Sofia's Central Club of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, a festive meeting marking the 50th anniversary of the founding of the first society of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship took place. The meeting was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Yordan Yotov, Georgi Atanasov, and Petur Dyulgerov; Tsola Dragoycheva, honorary chairman of the All-People Committee on Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship; Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria; and Evgeniy Poganov, advisor at the USSR Embassy in Sofia. Nacho Papazov, chairman of the All-People Committee on Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, spoke. He stressed that the foundation of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Society was a part of the great attack of the BCP, which had already begun before the victory of the October 1917 Revolution. Half a century is a sufficiently long period, stressed Nacho Papazov, in order to highly evaluate the activity of the first friendship society with the USSR and its continuers and heirs. A decree of the State Council on awarding the Sofia City Committee on Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship with the People's Republic of Bulgaria Order, First Degree, was read. The order was awarded by Comrade Milko Balev. [Text] [AU171833 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 84]

THAI AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Set Herabat, Thailand's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, departed from Bulgaria after completing his tour of duty. [Text] [AU161513 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 84 p 2]

ALEKSANDROV MEETS RSFSR DELEGATION--Chudom ir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received an RSFSR delegation visiting Bulgaria under the leadership of Donna Komarova, RSFSR minister of social security. The meeting was attended by Radoy Popivanov, minister of national health. [Text] [AU161513 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 31 Aug 84]

DZHUROV, USSR VISITORS IN SILISTRA--Representatives of the Soviet Veterans Committee have arrived in Silistra to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the city. A military ceremony-meeting devoted to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and to the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was held. Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, attended the ceremony. Major General Nikola Paunov chief of the higher military-construction school, spoke about Bulgarian-Soviet military friendship, and [name indistinct], retired rear admiral and member of the Soviet Committee War Veterans Presidium, were also present. [Summary] [AU161513 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Aug 84]

YORDANOV RECEIVES INSEA PRESIDENT--Sofia, 13 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy premier and chairman of the Committee for Culture, received Mr Brian Allison, president of the International Society for Education Through Art [INSEA]. At the meeting they emphasized the importance of the resolution, unanimously adopted by the 25th congress of INSEA in Rio de Janeiro in June last year, supporting the international Banner of Peace movement under the motto "Unity, creativity, beauty," as well as the participation of INSEA representatives in the international Banner of Peace Children's Assembly "Sofia '85" and in future assemblies and events organized by that movement. Taking part in the meeting was Mr Vladimir Zhivkov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture and director general of the Banner of Peace Center. [Text] [AU161513 Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 13 Sep 84]

CSO: 2200/202

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH CAPITALIST STATES PROMOTES PEACE

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German (signed to press 2 May 84) No 7, 84 pp 654-661

[Article by G. Soeder: "Social Aspects of the SED's Economic Strategy"]

[Text] Task force five of the Sixth Philosophy Congress of the GDR summoned for October 1984 will deal with philosophical problems in the SED's economic strategy, particularly--in line with the overall concern of the congress--with the connection between economic strategy and humanism. That raises the question of the relation between economic and social development and between economic and social policy. The humanistic character of an economic policy, to be sure, does not show up only in its social principles, interconnections and effects, particularly in its social objective, but ultimately it still does show up there, and primarily so.

The following intends to bring out some of these overall social aspects of the SED's economic strategy and, hence, the demands the SED's current economic policy makes on Marxist-Leninist philosophy. We here understand economic policy as that part of the social policy (overall policy) of the working class in power that is aimed at achieving, according to plan, fundamental economic development objectives on behalf of the workers class and all working people by appropriate means and methods. The general social subject of this economic policy is the workers class led by its party in alliance with other working people, it, together with the socialist state, being the main economic development tool. Economic policy embraces fundamental goals, means and methods, long-term and short-term, general and specific. It links up with all other sides and contents of social policy. By the term economic strategy we refer to the long-term economic policy stipulations mainly for the means and methods, guidelines to action, that were established on the basis of analyses and prognoses and are aimed at attaining long-term fundamental economic policy objectives.

Economic policy is not a matter apart--as the term might suggest. Economic policy finds its foundations always within the entire social entity, and it aims at the whole of it. Under all historic conditions, economic policy is objectively determined by natural conditions, the given state of development in the totality of the productive forces and the production relations and their objective, material laws, but also by the ideological relations in a given society and its external conditions. Economic policy at the same time is determined subjectively (looked at from the subject of the economic activity)

by the economic and social interests of a given class, its social value concepts and objectives and its ability to recognize objective relations and laws and--proceeding from that realization--formulate and implement the sort of economic policy that leads to the satisfaction of the economic and other interests of the class; a policy then, in which the target and result of action largely coincide. Differentiating between the objective and subjective determinants in the economic policy of a class is a relative matter. The chief determinants of economic policy are under all conditions the given production relations in their dialectical unity with the productive forces and the ideological relations of that society. The subject's influence on economic policy is expressed mainly by the ways and means in which the chief determinants of economic policy are reflected and put into practice. This influence by the subject, as far as its nature is concerned, is in itself objectively determined.

Economic policy is not only economic policy. It furnishes social policy and is itself--indirectly--social policy. The source of that lies in the production and reproduction of the material social processes of life. Men's activities, after all, are not only the basis and precondition, but also--as Marx and Engels mainly discovered--the ultimately decisive chief determinant of social development brought about through human action as such. Historical materialism is no economic materialism. The economy has no "determination monopoly." Yet essentially history simply is the history of the means of production, and this not only in the sense of "basis" and "precondition" but also in the sense of the organic unity between economic and overall social reproduction. Men's economic relations determine all other relations. They subordinate themselves to them while they also create them anew. This means: Economic relations, altered in form, are reproducing themselves in all social relations, this of necessity, regardless of what men want and desire--even if through what they do.

Not only politics is a concentrated expression of economics, its generalizations and its completion. In a varied modality this transformation applies also to all ideological relations of men, as it does to their social consciousness. All production is reproduction. This reproduction process implies not only the reproduction of the productive forces but also of the material social relations under which production takes place. Thereby then the reproduction process, as it were, continues through the whole of society, embraces the whole. There does not exist a dialectic of the productive forces and the production relations on the one side, and one between the base and the superstructure in juxtaposition, as it were. In his "Principles for the Critique of Political Economy," Marx impressively accounted for the dialectical unity between the material (economic) reproduction process and the overall social reproduction process with the inclusion of personality development and the development of the arts and languages. To keep thinking further in that direction is one of the most significant requirements for philosophy as derived from the economic strategy of the 10th SED Congress.

Reproduction is always the reproduction of an objective social mode of human existence. That probably applies primarily to the reproduction of the conduct of the producers toward the conditions of their labor and, hence, toward each other--principally in the production process but, above and beyond it, in all sectors of public life. Yet it does not apply only to the relations in the sense just referred to. The reproduction of the social mode of human existence

also proceeds through the produced embodied wealth. It too embodies human existence, even if of course not apart from the relations. In bourgeois society the produced wealth exists in an antagonistic form, inhuman for most of the people. By that token, however, wealth is by no means merely negative, ahuman as such or filthy lucre, below the dignity of socialist man or at least all the way down on his scale of values. Let us recall how Marx posed the question: What else is produced wealth--if one strips off its stupid bourgeois form--"but the universality of the individuals' needs, abilities, enjoyments, productive forces and so forth produced through universal exchange? The full development of the human supremacy over the forces of nature, those of so-called nature as well as of his own nature?"<sup>1</sup> Decisions in the economic sector therefore are decisions made for the whole because they inevitably reproduce themselves throughout the whole. Here lies objectively a magnificent opportunity and responsibility for the subject of the process of history, an opportunity that assumes reality only in a socialist society, of shaping the economy deliberately and according to plan, with regard to its overall social effect.

The economic strategy of the 10th party congress is anchored in that sense in the SED's social policy and aimed at the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. The Central Committee report to the 10th SED Congress states: "The centerpiece of the SED's social policy is our economy, the great efforts of our people toward high economic performance improvements. Here mainly the decisions are made on further advances in the shaping of developed socialism. With it, the blossoming in all public sectors more and more affects the rate of production growth."<sup>2</sup>

Economic policy is no end in itself, but a means to an end, it being further progress in all sectors of public life. That places no negative emphasis on economics and economic policy and does not degrade them to "mere means" because precisely from this means-and-end dialectics results the high place value of economic policy. Lenin recognized its outstanding importance in calling it the most "interesting policy" for communists. Way back in 1921, only a few years after the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, Lenin said about the relation between the communists and economic policy: "Under the bourgeois regime, the entrepreneurs were engaged in businesslike work, but not so the state organs, while to us economic matters are of concern to the general public. To us that is the most interesting policy."<sup>3</sup> And that it is not because of subjective inclinations the communists may or may not have, which they may either pursue or not pursue. The high rank of economic policy is explained by the objective role of economics in the social process and the nature and the developing ways and means by which the historic working class mission is implemented in the process of history. Economic policy is bound to become the most interesting policy for communists once the workers class has seized political power and it becomes a matter of consolidating and developing that power and constructing socialism by means of it.

Our main job today is to continue the further implementation of the main task course in its unity of economic and social policy and do so resolutely even under the conditions of the 1980's. The economic strategy of the 10th party congress thus relies on basic social objectives and is embedded in them. Ultimately it is aimed at creating all material, socioeconomic and political-ideological prerequisites for implementing at an ever higher scale the meaning

of socialism, to do everything for the good of the people. Thereby is being implemented in a historically new way the general overall social function of economic progress as the basis and chief determinant for human development: Economic progress loses its antagonistic and spontaneous character. Now it is being produced through society's planned cooperation. It serves to "ensure for all members of society the means for existence and for the free development of their abilities, and this at an ever increasing rate."<sup>4</sup> That is of course possible only on the basis of objective conditions, principally of the existence of the public ownership in the means of production and of the workers and farmers state. That is the experience of the socialist countries that is of importance not only to them but also, and perhaps principally, to those nations that are looking for new ways of development. Social-reformist "developmental conceptions" are ignoring precisely this connection between property, political power and economic progress as, allegedly, insignificant.

The high rank of socialist economic policy is principally explained by the objective function it assumes within the national framework in the shaping of socialism. Our party's economic strategy, furthermore, has significant international aspects truly world historic in significance. Never yet in the history of humanity have international economic relations linked with productive forces development and the division of labor been as pronounced as they are at the present time, which is marked by the existence of different and antagonistic social systems. Never yet have national economies been affected by that as intensively as today. It is precisely this fact that raises fundamental questions of social theory in view of the fact that what we call world economy is nothing homogeneous. The world economy, and so also the world market, are contradictory units of diverse and antagonistic economic relations and laws. The subjects of the world economy also are diverse: opposed classes with different and contradictory aims and interests. So the world economy is something highly differentiated and contradictory. And precisely because in the field of the world economy diverse and opposing classes work together, world economic problems are closely linked with world-political and international ideological processes.

To some extent this contradictory unity is not a new phenomenon. The prevailing opposition between capital and labor existing in the past within the scope of a national economy now exists in the form of the capitalist and the socialist economic system. But that precisely is what is fundamentally new because the existence of socialism lends new features to the formerly unified capitalist world economy and thereby raises new questions: How does that contradiction advance? What do we mean by "exclusion" and by "mutual conditioning"? How do the poles affect each other? What does it mean to "affect" and what is being affected and what is not? What role is played by interests and concessions to interests in the world economy? Is it not so that socialism, oriented to peaceful coexistence and to the need for concessions as a partial resolution for international contradictions, offers opportunities for their being settled humanely?

Operating with the two poles of capital and labor will by no means suffice to define the world economy of today. In principle one will have to differentiate between economic relations among socialist countries, among capitalist countries and between socialist and capitalist countries. Exceedingly important

aspects are brought out by the economic relations the two opposing world systems have with the developing countries and also by the developing countries' influence on the world economy. Especially in view of the demand raised by the developing countries for a just world economic order and relative to Marxist-Leninist, bourgeois and reformist development conceptions for the developing countries, many philosophical questions are raised: What does development for the developing countries mean in principle? What are its driving forces? What role is played by the productive force of man, considering the universal lack of material funds? How do economics, politics and ideology relate to one another in the developing countries?

Bourgeois and reformist theoreticians are spreading the notion the Marxist philosophical theory on development and the doctrine on classes and the class struggle were not applicable to the developing countries; Marxism-Leninism had no conception for the developing countries; not contradiction and class struggle, but consensus and class cooperation would lead to development. In view of the effect of such distortions of Marxism, particularly in the developing countries, we must more strongly come to grips with such positions.

The socioeconomic stratification of international economic relations reflects the class struggles of our times, reflects the fact that our era is marked by the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism at a global scale. Corresponding to this state of affairs, the international aspects of our party's economic policy are also multilayered. It is mainly aimed at economic cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, at deepening socialist economic integration. Though integration is taking place in the economic field, it does have political effects: it helps consolidate the community of socialist states and the rapprochement of the socialist nations. That lends political direction to the already initiated process of the internationalization of the economy, founded ultimately in productive forces development, in an entirely new manner and with regard to given possibilities and needs. While under capitalist conditions the internationalization process is implemented antagonistically--mainly through the international monopolies' struggle of competition--the internationalization under socialist conditions is brought about on the basis of essentially uniform socioeconomic, political and ideological foundations and objectives--which includes the existence of nonantagonistic contradictions in this process. The national economic policy of the various socialist countries thus helps strengthen world socialism and enhance its influence in the revolutionary world process and supplies a model for a new type of world economy that is superior to the capitalist type.

The economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries also has truly world historic aspects. That is demonstrated by the following:

- This cooperation serves the development of real socialism since the use of the international division of labor is of benefit to and indispensable for the socialist countries' productive forces development.
- Lenin already pointed out that the crucial influence socialism would have on world events mainly came from its economic capacity because the peaceful confrontation between the systems--which socialism is seeking--proceeded mainly in the form of economic contest.

--Economic policy becomes especially important under the conditions of peaceful coexistence. The economic policy of socialism becomes an instrument for economically consolidating and strengthening political accords, whereby it helps make irreversible what has been attained and encourage innovation. Economic policy in that sense functions as a factor that promotes the international cooperation between states with different social orders.

--Economic cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries helps solve problems global in character. That includes alleviating the food problem in connection with population growth, especially in the developing countries, the tapping of new raw material and energy sources on the earth and in space, rational regulatory arrangements for the relationship between nature and society and so forth.

The objective basis for the economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states is the general law of the socialization of production, the protracted juxtaposition of opposed socioeconomic systems and the existence of a contradictory yet unified world market which, despite the split of the world into two opposing systems, ultimately survives because of the inherent needs for productive forces development. In that respect then the question about the economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states does not depend on opinion either. Economic cooperation on the world market is an economic and political necessity of our time. It is explained by the objective foundations explained above. Bourgeois attempts at explaining it, such as the "interdependence theory," according to which we are all "in one boat," are wrong. Because essentially capitalism and socialism have diametrically opposed historical perspectives. "One boat"--no way. Neither side will abandon its class positions, and there are limits in this regard to all concessions.

The fact of economic cooperation proves, however, that there are activities that help both sides to realize their interests. That applies above all to the development of the material-technical productive forces, which can, essentially, be used in either system. The economic cooperation between socialism and capitalism is used by each system for developing its own productive forces and strengthening its own economy, but that does not affect the production relations and objective laws in these systems and their inherent contradictions. Both systems recognize each other in terms of international law and respect each state's sovereignty with respect to the shaping of any given society. Any attempts at bringing an influence to bear through economic cooperation on the socialist social system--as, possibly, the socialist planned economy or the socialist state's foreign trade monopoly--are rigorously turned down. As the production relations are contrary, different and contrary economic laws are in effect in both systems. The international economic relations between socialism and capitalism constitute no "mixed systems." Yet the economic laws in both systems leave enough elbow room, in terms of the field of possibilities inherent in each law, so that each partner can derive advantages from the economic relations. The trade of products between the two systems is theoretically explained by there being general essential connections in commodity manufacture.<sup>5</sup> Goods can be traded, as one knows, regardless of the socioeconomic conditions under which they were produced.

International economic relations, however, do modify the conditions under which the economic laws in a given system function. Along with beneficial influences on the conditions under which the economic laws of socialism function, the socialist countries however find themselves exposed also to complicated problems and risks caused by the confrontation with the requirements and functioning mode of the economic laws of capitalism. Therefore it is necessary, as Erich Honecker announced at the Ninth SED Congress, "to continue to engage in uncompromising struggle against all attempts by the imperialist monopolies and states at shoving the effects of their crisis upon us."<sup>6</sup> That socialism will ultimately emerge victorious from the contest with capitalism is not due to the economic cooperation between capitalism and socialism, even though this cooperation offers socialism favorable conditions for its development. On the other hand, it would be wrong to ignore that the adversaries of socialism tie that economic cooperation to political hopes for changing socialism back to capitalism. However, the logic of history, our experiences so far and the solidity of the socialist states offer no handles for such speculations.

Men's social activities in time are rooted in the past and affect the future. The mode of production has especially broad and deep effects on the future. That is demonstrated by the division of labor, the development of the private ownership in the means of production, the development of a general currency system, and also by the invention and use of the wheel, power engines and many other changes in the mode of production in the past and their historic consequences. Marx and Engels demonstrated that ultimately it has always been the development of the productive forces that would produce far-reaching social effects through space and time, provided through the production relations.

The all-inclusive conversion to intensively expanded reproduction is essentially a lengthy process in which already decisions have to be prepared and made that will "significantly affect the economic and social leeway in the future."<sup>7</sup>

The dimension in our party's economic strategy that points to the far distant future, after all, is that it aims the economic strategy, as summarized in the ten key points, at scientific-technical progress, productive forces development, the all-inclusive conversion to intensively expanded reproduction in its unity with the reproduction of nature and of all society, thus at enhancing the efficiency of human labor so it will create the fundamental prerequisite for the gradual transition later to the higher phase of communism. The objective basis for this historic dimension lies in the fact that communist society develops through various stages of maturation that cannot be taken apart and the continuity of which must not be ignored but must consciously be fashioned. Communist society is a unified whole, a whole entity marked, essentially, by a unifying link between the producers and the means of production--to cite the Marxist basic differentiation principle for historic stages in terms of linking producers with the means of production. It would be equally wrong and harmful to deny the specific qualities in these stages of maturation in communist society or to mix them up, push them through artificially or even omit them altogether.

The SED Program<sup>8</sup> and so also its economic policy rely on the Marxist-Leninist conception on the unified communist society and its phases of maturation.

We fight and work for our goal of communism through the full development of the developed socialist society, its relations, laws and principles for the good of working man. Socialist society will not tolerate a misuse of our relations--such as the commodity-money relation--or a violation of our principles--such as the performance principle. But by artificially curbing socialist relations, laws and principles or by invalidating them, that could not be done. That offers no solution. That would mean venturing into subjective idealism. The success of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress is due, not last, to its consistently materialistic and dialectical approach to shaping the economy. And that principally means recognizing the materiality of the economic relations and laws and orienting the socialist state's economic activity to a comprehensive utilization of these relations and laws and their planned development, directed at resolving dialectical contradictions.

The measure of what man can do with success in history--with the target and result of actions essentially in conformity--is not posited by ideal notions outside of time but, ultimately, by the productive forces in their entirety. Ideas on shaping our reality play a great, history-forming role when such ideals are fairly adequate to the productive forces, production relations and their laws and express the interests of the broad masses.

It is typical of the social policy as such and of the SED's economic strategy that they rely on a realistic analysis of social development, posing and deriving from there realistic tasks that keep us from postponing till tomorrow what should be settled today and from wanting to settle today what is not yet to be settled. That is scientific socialism in the best sense of the word. This focus on realism and the feasible must of course by no means be interpreted as renouncing any lead in ideas of large range. Exactly the opposite is what the all-inclusive conversion to intensively expanded reproduction requires. This focusing on qualitative growth factors, the social complexity of the reproduction process and, not last, its enormous dynamism, make it imperative that future reproduction conditions are closely anticipated and taken account of even now. And that enhances the significance of knowing the future and of long-range planning. And this involves more than developing the raw material and energy sources, science and technology, the international division of labor and cooperation.

Among the future reproduction conditions, after all, and not last, is man himself, his developing needs, the whole manner in which he will live. If one assumes that ultimately man is the purpose of production in socialist society, crucial importance attaches to the question about the lifestyle of men in shaping the reproduction of the material life process in the truest sense of the word because today's decisions have to be made with an eye to the far distant future. As for all that then, already today the far distant future is under discussion.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Berlin, 1953, p 387.
2. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den X. Parteitag der SED," Berlin, 1981, p 48.

3. V. I. Lenin, "Tenth All-Russian CPR(B) Conference," "Werke" [Works], Vol 32, Berlin, 1961, p 451.
4. F. Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Berlin, 1962, p 140.
5. Cf. G. Kohlmey, "Entwicklungsprobleme des sozialistischen Weltsystems" [Development Problems of the Socialist World System], Berlin, 1958, p 40.
6. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED," Berlin, 1976, p 82.
7. "4. Tagung des ZK der SED. Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker" [From Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Speech to the Fourth SED Central Committee Session], Berlin, 1982, p 102.
8. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 9.

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CHANGES IN WAGE AND BENEFIT PAYMENTS EXPLAINED

40-Hour Work Week

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Mar 84 p 7

[Text] The obligatory weekly working time in Hungary was 48 hours up to 1968. In recent years the weekly working time was reduced by 4 hours. This affected those employed in industry and the construction industry first, then gradually those working in other areas of the economy also got an extra free day every two weeks or shorter work time. In the second half of 1981, plants producing continually in three or more shifts and then, from January 1982, other employers also gradually introduced the 5-day work week, simultaneously reducing the weekly work time to 42 hours. To do this required about 800 million forints in state support--especially in the service areas.

In the interest of improving the living conditions of workers the responsible state and social organizations considered a further reduction in work time justified. It was noted, however, that the tasks connected with switching to a 40-hour work week could be solved more easily in the material branches, but with greater difficulty in other areas. So it was decided that beginning 1 January 1984 the enterprises listed in the industrial and construction industry branches could introduce a weekly 40-hour work time--taking into consideration gradualness and the present state of the economy. This had to be done without central support, depending on the degree of their own strength and differentiated in time (Council of Ministers Resolution No 1044/1983 [X. 27]).

Introducing the 5-day work week increased the time of stay on the job for those working in state administration and the administration of justice. So setting the weekly work time at 40 hours was justified in this sphere also. This took place effective 5 March 1984, and it had to be done without making use of central support or extra manpower (Council of Ministers Resolution No 1045/1983 [X. 27]).

Preparatory work is continuing in the interest of seeing that the shorter work week can be introduced in areas not yet affected.

### Minimum Wage Increased

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Mar 84 p 7

[Text] The minimum wage has been increased significantly. The trade unions have indicated a number of times in recent years that the decree which set the minimum wage at 1,350 forints was unrealistic. 1,350 forints per month is not enough to cover even the minimal personal needs, so for years one could not find workers employed full time working for this wage--even in the simplest jobs.

According to the new regulations--effective 1 January 1984--the minimum wage for full-time employment is 2,000 forints per month or 11 forints per hour for those employed for an hourly wage. This sum also constitutes the lower wage limit established in the various basic wage systems. In the case of performance wage payment--if the worker meets the requirements 100 percent--the total wage paid according to performance must reach 2,000 forints.

Decree No 6/1983 (XI. 22.) ME contains the new measures.

### Wage Supplements

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Mar 84 p 7

[Text] To counter a part of the central authoritative price increases those living from wages and salaries received a centrally authorized wage supplement per person. The total of this, from 1979, was 290 forints.

The trade unions did not oppose the inclusion of this sum in the wages, but it was their position that the 290 forints could not be reduced for the great majority of workers because of wages paid and that they should not suffer any other loss. This gave birth to the decisions contained in Council of Ministers decrees No 42/1983 (XI. 12.) and 47/1983 (XI. 20.).

On the basis of these the 310-forint wage bonus is essentially of the same size as the 290 forints was. Why? Because the average pension contribution is around 7 percent taking into consideration the national average earnings --which in 1983 were somewhat under 5,000 forints. Seven percent of 310 forints is 21.70 forints. That is, taking the 7 percent pension contribution from the 310 forints for those earning between 4,500 and 5,000 forints gives a net wage bonus of nearly 290 forints (288.30 forints).

Someone earning, for example, 3,500 forints is "better off" by a few forints, since he gets 291.40 forints, whereas someone earning 5,500 forints, for example, "loses" a few forints, since he gets only 285.20 forints in hand.

However, when building this into the wage, care must be taken that the earnings of the great majority of the workers do not go into a higher pension contribution bracket because of the building-in. For this reason, beginning 1 January 1984, the limits of the contribution brackets were increased by 300 forints. For example, the bracket extending from 3,001 to 4,000 forints was increased to one between 3,301 and 4,300 forints, the previous bracket

extending from 4,001 to 5,000 forints was increased to one extending from 4,301 to 5,300 forints, and so forth. As a result of this a person whose earnings were near the next contribution step does not have to pay a pension contribution at the higher percentage because of the 310-forint wage bonus.

The calculations prepared prove that with the 300-forint earnings bracket increase about 95 percent of the workers can avoid a reduction in earnings because of the 310-forint wage bonus.

The 310 forints is a wage bonus and not a base wage. In the case of base wage payment a reduction in performance for any reason would affect unfavorably the workers being paid a performance wage. For example, in the case of 80-percent performance they would get only 248 forints in hand. In the second place, in the case of base wage payment an unjustified tension would have arisen between the white collar workers and those receiving a time wage on the one hand and those being paid a performance wage on the other. One could not justify, for example, that those receiving a time wage would get a 310-forint fixed sum base wage increase while those working for a performance wage might get less as a function of performance variation.

The 310-forint wage bonus applies to that month in which the worker is entitled to a work wage, a work fee, repayment of a supplement to earnings (income) due to reserve military service, sick pay, accident pay (supplementary sick pay) or pregnancy-child birth aid. The wage bonus is paid in full even if the work relationship of the worker existed in only a part of the month. It is paid once a month, so it must be shown on the employment validation sheet (MIL sheet) whether the worker got his wage bonus in the month when the work relationship was terminated.

Thus, the worker gets the wage bonus even for his time on the sick list. (If no special action is taken concerning this then he would be entitled to only 75 percent of the wage bonus.)

In the case of those retiring the 310 forints must be ignored in the sum to be taken into consideration according to the rules for establishing the pension, and the 290 forints must be added to the pension calculated. (Not the 310, because the pension contribution is not subtracted from the pension.)

This wage bonus is not calculated into the average earnings of the workers when establishing refund fees for childcare and educational institutions.

#### Retraining Support

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Mar 84 p 7

[Text] Since June 1983 central retraining support can be given to those workers who go to new jobs as a result of organized manpower regrouping between enterprises and who participate in organized retraining to acquire the professional knowledge needed there. The support prevents a temporary reduction in the wages of the workers affected since it supplements the wage

to the level of the average earnings received earlier from the beginning of the new work relationship to the completion of retraining.

A new regulation has supplemented the support system since February 1984, extending it to regroupings within an enterprise too, insofar as this serves an improvement in economic efficiency and affects more significant numbers of personnel.

A more flexible utilization of manpower is intended to be served by the provision which increases the interest of employers in providing work at other enterprises for their workers who can be dispensed with temporarily. Even previously the Labor Code made the outside assignment of manpower possible. Beginning in 1984, that managing organization which temporarily gives up the work of more than 10 workers can use the wage savings deriving from this, tax free according to the given regulations, to increase the wage level.

The trade unions must turn special attention to making sure that no harm is done to the interests of the workers at the enterprises giving up or employing the manpower in the course of the temporary regrouping. The regulations interdependent with these questions are contained in decree No 3/1983 (V. 4.) ME and orders No 6/1984 (II. 14.) and 5/1984 (II. 14.) ABMH.

#### Goals of Trade Unions

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Mar 84 p 7

[Interview with Laszlo Bukta, department chief of the National Council of Trade Unions: "Standard of Living Policy Efforts of the Trade Unions"]

[Text] It is well known that our economic situation this year does not make it possible to raise the standard of living or significantly improve living conditions. This fact in itself sensitively affects our public opinion, which acknowledges the situation, if not with pleasure. In addition, a number of decisions have been made and a number of measures have been taken which try to moderate or ease the unfavorable effects of the economic difficulties effecting workers, pensioners, large families, etc. Experience shows that our public opinion is not sufficiently informed or does not know about these measures and the role of the trade unions in developing them. But we should know that the trade unions actively participated in working out the decisions influencing the standard of living and living conditions. We talked about these questions with Laszlo Bukta, chief of the economic policy and standard of living policy department of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions].

[Question] How do the trade unions judge the development in the living and working conditions of workers to be expected this year?

[Answer] The trade unions participated--just as they did earlier--in every essential phase of working out the 1984 plan. We took the initiative in a number of questions concerning standard of living policy and production policy.

The responsible state authorities took into consideration the majority of our observations and proposals, but because of the unfavorable external and internal economic conditions we had to accept that although all our proposals and observations are justified some of them can be realized only at a later time. We acknowledged that consolidating the external economic balance of the country and maintaining our international solvency must receive priority in 1984. We agreed with the position that the main source for the solution to our economic problems is better work, better discovery and utilization of the reserves existing in management. At the same time, it is our position that we absolutely must achieve the modest standard of living policy goals defined in the plan, with the tools of economic guidance and with better organization of work at the work sites, more careful guarantee of conditions at the enterprises. As we see it, the level of various social benefits can and must be preserved even though the average increase in wages this year will remain below the increase in consumer prices.

#### Greater Performance--Greater Material Recognition

[Question] What role are the trade unions assuming in realization of the economic goals?

[Answer] The trade union movement aids and supports economic construction work with its political organizing, mobilizing activity. It is very important for our movement to participate actively in informing people about and getting them to accept the 1984 economic plan, so that everyone will see clearly what must be done at his own work site in the interest of realizing the goals defined in the plan. Primary among our production policy goals is participation with the unique tools of the trade unions in improving or increasing efficiency, quality, materials and energy conservation and economical export. We are participating in organizing the work movement, especially the socialist brigade movement and the innovators' movement, in mobilizing for the most important economic goals. In accordance with the position taken at the sixth national conference of socialist brigade leaders and on the basis of the new resolution which has appeared we are modernizing the organization of and incentive for the competition. In improving the substantive components of the labor competition we are counting especially, naturally, on the trade union activists and the socialist brigades.

A worthy development of the labor competition movement requires from the leaders that they make possible the unfolding of the initiative of the workers and brigades at every place of work in the interest of discovering and using the internal reserves of production and management. They must produce conditions by means of which the workers can aid even better the fulfillment of the plans, improving quality, finding substitutes for and conserving import materials and tools, making use of secondary and waste materials, and aiding every work organization measure which serves the introduction of new technology and a replacement of the product structure.

One condition for effectiveness is that greater economic performance be accompanied by greater material recognition. The labor competition results

achieved during the year should be evaluated immediately after they are accomplished and they should be recognized materially as a function of their utility.

The aspiration and capacity to renew the labor competition movement have been expressed repeatedly in the desire of the brigades to act. Those participating in the liberation labor competition--that was started at the initiative of the miners' and iron workers' socialist brigades want to help by increasing the efficiency of work, fulfilling the export plans, raising the quality of services and production work, expanding domestic goods supply and all those goals which have been formulated at the work sites as tasks for the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

#### Full Employment Requirement

[Question] What is the position of the trade unions regarding the 1984 wage and social policy measures and goals?

[Answer] The primary basis of our wage policy continues to be distribution according to work. One should earn more for greater, real performance, for creative activity useful to the community. For this reason we support every central and enterprise initiative and method (such as the use of experimental wage regulation at some enterprises, for example) which increasingly recognizes in the wages of an individual greater economic results corresponding to community interests. In addition, we consider it necessary that wages express better than they have up to now the expertise constituting a condition for performance, the unfavorable working conditions and responsibility. In those areas (for example, for those working in hot plants) where the local wage payment possibilities are not sufficient for this we are urging that central wage policy measures resolve the wage tensions. At the same time we are opposed to every wage measure which is not based on work but rather is the consequence of excessively cautious economic decisions, perhaps neglecting careful planning. The wage must be the countervalue of work and it must be paid when the work is done, and not when the employer can do so under the most favorable circumstances.

I have mentioned work, but this requires that everyone be guaranteed a job. As is well known the trade unions regard full employment as an indispensable political requirement.

#### Protecting Consumer Interests

The trade unions constantly watch the situation of social services for those living from wages and salaries. We consider it especially important to improve the social situation of families with many children, those with lower pensions and young households. For this reason we have taken an initiative that the lower pensions, family benefits, child care benefits and scholarships be supplemented at the same time as increases occur in consumer prices. In addition we are making efforts to preserve the level of social services at enterprises and places of work. According to our experiences the majority of the enterprises and their trade union bodies

are ensuring an acceptable degree of various rebate fees to the workers despite the price increases.

Last but not least I must talk about the question of the supply of goods. The trade unions regard a supply of high quality goods in expanding variety at the officially established prices to be an important measure of living conditions. For this reason the network of trade union social inspectors consisting of many thousands of activists, cooperating with the official professional inspectors, does significant work in defense of consumer interests and in raising the level of the supply of goods.

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IMPROVEMENTS IN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES ADVOCATED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Janos Berecz, editor in chief and member of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Power, Democracy, Public Life"]

[Text] Power and democracy do not exactly evoke similar ideas or a uniform concept in people. The experiences of Hungarian history, of almost a thousand years, the traditions of our history suggest an opposition of power and democracy. But the reality of the capitalist countries, which are always wanting to instruct us, also confirms the foregoing experience, despite the fact that in a number of states the capitalist rule relationships are realized through a system of institutions having manifold democratic aspects. But if the struggle waged for the interests of the workers sharpens, for example, if the miners, the iron workers or other worker strata or the national minorities make a determined struggle for their goals, the power immediately puts aside the democratic rules and comes to the surface violently. But they have succeeded in planting deeply the belief that democracy is equivalent to the competition of parties. Nor should we forget that in a significant number of capitalist states the will of the ruling class is realized with open dictatorship and terroristic means against the interests of the overwhelming majority.

It is also a fact that the working class power was born in a revolutionary manner; in most cases the working class deprives the exploiting classes of their property and tools of power violently. So in its externals it appears to be anti-democratic. And it is for the bourgeoisie! Still, even at its birth it is the most democratic power because in regard to its essence, in its content it is democratic, for it makes possible the realization of the goals of the people, creates the political conditions and material basis for it by creating collective property relationships. But neither is the way in which the interests of the people are realized a matter of indifference. We know well that in the eyes of people democracy is embodied by the system for formation of policy, legislation, the implementation of policy and finally the supervision of implementation. From this viewpoint the mechanism which permits the unfolding of this social practice and the institutional system in which the people's power is embodied, reflected and realized are of extraordinary importance also. Looking at the realization of democracy in this way, socialist democracy does not burst forth all at once like a spark and its institutional system is not readymade.

Socialist democracy is in a state of constant development, enrichment and fulfillment, so it is a historical process. It is said more and more today that there is a need to reform our political institutional system. The creation of a new political institutional system is unnecessary on the basis of our socialist social reality and Marxist-Leninist political concept. But it is another question that even we do not have an institutional system which would be solved and completed all at once for all time. We must guard against all obduracy so that our institutions also can develop with social and economic development and changes, so that our democracy should become richer. But every change and development depends on the conditions. In the event of an external threat the defensive norms are more strict. In the event of an increase in internal difficulties leadership is more determined, but still the entire people can be mobilized to solve the greater tasks with a development of democracy. And social practice becomes richer with an increase in experience. We reckon with all this when realizing the principles of socialist democracy and enriching its practice.

In our country the content and essence of the worker power are embodied in the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party--because of its leading role. The fundamental requirements for the development of a correct policy are recognition of the historical necessities and possibilities of development, a precise acknowledgement of the real conditions and a formulation of the long-range interests of society and those that can be realized in a given period. Politics is the programmatic summation of these requirements. This is a difficult and complex task which requires scientific methods and the development and ceaseless re-creation of mutual agreement. Mutual agreement is not a one-time act, not a single vote, but rather a constant, active dialogue between the leading political forces and the various groups and collectives and social organizations of the working people at the most varied levels.

In the course of realizing socialist democracy, when formulating every new question and making every ripe decision, it could happen and does happen that the entire working class, the entire people, do not immediately agree with a decision expressing their own interests. But it hinders or could prevent the realization of the given goal if the party is not able to get people to understand the necessity of the decision, and thus a consensus is lacking in execution. Getting decisions accepted and winning the support of the workers is possible only with living democratic methods--with open political work, with active propaganda, by listing the arguments and facts. Let us think only of the collectivization of agriculture. It would have been difficult to accomplish anything by means of a plebiscite. But in the final analysis the creation of socialist agriculture was a continual plebiscite for the realization of the policy of the party, because the peasantry voluntarily accepted the necessity of it and the working class and the intelligentsia offered significant material and intellectual support for it. This is how socialist agriculture came into being. Today it is an embodiment of production democracy in the village and the pride of the entire Hungarian people on the basis of its success.

We might take as another example the open and direct word of the twelfth congress of our party about the difficulties produced in our situation and the formulation of two tasks of a defensive nature--the requirements of restoring the

balance of payments and preserving the standard of living. He who knows something about the present state of the world knows well that fulfilling these tasks thus far is a great achievement, internationally recognized as well. It was a success for the organizations of our party that they got the workers to understand and accept these goals and cooperate actively in achieving them. In the process of all-people dialogue it must be recognized also that tomorrow this will no longer satisfy the workers. Although we continue to regard these vitally important goals as primary, the Hungarian workers expect from us a more offensive, progressive program for the years ahead. The Hungarian communists must discover new sources for development, and these must be summed up at the thirteenth congress coming in the spring of next year. The April resolution of the Central Committee concerning a further development of the economic guidance system has meant a step in this direction already, for the transfer of the exercise of ownership rights to the collective of the given plant means a further expansion of democracy in the interest of liberating new creative forces for further development. Even the idea of such a profoundly democratic practice has not come up in the capitalist countries.

The nature of legislation, of the popular representative system, also belongs to the system of developing policy. Our party regards a development of the activity of both the national assembly and of the councils as its constant task. The new electoral law, which prescribes multiple candidates, provides a great opportunity for this. But this will result in development only if we make good use of it. In our country there is hardly any experience with the political competition which may develop among persons in the realization of essentially identical goals. We must recognize the political competition of individuals in the interest of the cause of the community so as to avoid dealing in personalities, backhanded rivalry and conflicts which cause wounds. This is a big task for our party organizations. Nor can the national assembly or the councils that were created in this way work in the manner which has been customary thus far. The representatives who win in the political competition must prove that they think in terms of the country and the world, that they represent simultaneously and very actively the common good and the interests of their constituents. They cannot be satisfied with legislation; they must take the lead in execution also. They cannot be satisfied with formulating the goals, but rather must take an active part in realizing the proposed goals and take action against the irregularities and illegalities of our public life. They must unmask the abuses, the coldness and insensitivity on the part of the bureaucrats which embitter the lives of the citizens. There is not and cannot be any stopping in the development of democracy.

And so we arrive at execution, an important question for socialist democracy, because the positive goals of policy are only worth the extent of their realization. Our basic principle is clear and unambiguous: The planning and building of socialist Hungary can only be the work of the entire Hungarian people. We cannot now list all the factors for the realization of our basic principle. We want to deal with only two phenomena.

It is an apparent contradiction in our society today that simultaneous with an expression of and support for the demand of the workers for the development of socialist democracy there is a demand for hard, determined action against those who violate the law, looters, those who make large incomes without work, incompetent leaders incapable of guiding the collective well, etc. There is no contradiction in this, for the realization of socialist rights and exploitation of the possibilities must serve the interests not only of the individual but of all society as well. Realizing the democratic rights and laws in a strictly uniform system is useful for society as a whole. The fewer who violate the laws and the more who participate with conscious activity in the realization of our goals the better the democratic rights will be realized for the benefit of individual citizens and society at large.

We have another problem in the returning view according to which the general policy of the party is correct and good but it is not realized well in the course of execution. To put it in the vernacular: All is in order "up there" but things go badly "down here." This view is erroneous, even dangerous.

In the course of the realization of socialist policy there cannot be a gap or difference in principle between "up there" and "down here." Everyone has rights and responsibilities at his own level both for the development of policy and for its realization. Reality never justifies the thesis that "the leadership is wise, but the people are not yet ready, not ripe for the great tasks." It is characteristic of a wise policy that unity develops between the leaders and led at every level in the course of the development, interpretation and realization of policy. The above view is harmful also because it suggests that the realization of the correct and good policy is distorted "in the middle," that the subordinate leaders spoil the situation. At no level can responsibility be passed off on others, everyone must assume his part, and not make signs upward or downward. It is the general experience that the thousands of party, state, economic and movement officials, with the trust and support of their constituents, work with commitment and diligence for the practical realization of the accepted policy.

At the same time, obviously, social and economic practice are not at a uniform level, many tasks and policy goals are not realized uniformly. But there are many sorts of reasons for this. It is possible that somewhere the given leadership really is incompetent, incapable of organizing work well. The conditions are not the same for the several collectives and institutions. But neither can we exclude the possibility that some decisions are one-sided, not precise, or simply wrong from the beginning, or later became obsolete. It can also happen that the decision is good, but the necessary economic conditions for its execution do not exist, and so forth.

The weaknesses can be overcome only if more and more citizens participate consciously in the execution of policy and if the leading authorities work at least as diligently on organizing the execution of the approved decision as they did on coming to it.

It also appears from the foergoing that for some people--however broad their circle of interests--it is not the so-called large politics but rather, in many respects, the material conditions and atmosphere of the place of work and the living conditions of a narrower residence that embody the country, the system of power and government. Although the country is governed from one center, still there as many nuances as there are counties, cities, communities, factories, cooperatives or offices, because both the objective and subjective conditions are different. Consequently, comparing the announced policy and the realized facts can lead to various results. And this many-colored reality is the basis for the supervision which is realized by the participation of the entire people.

This is why, meditating on the overlapping questions of power, democracy and public life, it is necessary for us to go beyond an ungenerous interpretation of supervision. In connection with supervision this conception thinks only of the various authorities and organizations--criminal investigations and the administration of justice, the popular control organs and commercial supervision, the councils of consumers, the authorities, etc. The good, effective functioning of these is very desirable and useful. But with however large an apparatus or activist guard they work they bring only a fraction of the populace into their work.

But supervision, which is one of the areas for the realization of socialist democracy, is the right and job of the entire people. The essence of this is that public spirit formed by the behavior of and positions taken by every citizen if he follows vigilantly, observes and supervises how those decisions are realized which contain in themselves some partial question of the policy resting on the general consent. To follow with attention and take a stand at every forum--this is the chief characteristic of the supervisory activity of the entire people.

The chief obstacle to keeping such supervisory activity at a high temperature is if the affected organizations and leaders undervalue this method. How many just critical observations, how many good ideas and clever proposals may not be voiced if the experience of long years shows that the leadership of the given area is insensitive and deaf to them. In how many institutions is information about essential questions not given to the workers, ideas not shared, because the leadership shows no interest in the opinion of the working colleagues, does not reckon with their active cooperation, condemning them to a role of only mechanical execution. But the more people that take part in working out the tasks the more active is the execution and the processing of new experiences, the collective preparation for new decisions. Thus socialist democracy is an effective tool in the close interconnection of the areas of decision, execution and supervision.

Attention must be paid especially to the sensitivity of young people in the course of the realization of the principles of socialist democracy. Older people, on the basis of habit, acquiesce easily if the new ideas, the new measures can be implemented with greater difficulty. But the younger ones are not bound by the old things, they are sensitive to the unity of words and deeds, they take seriously, for example, the forums of the youth parliaments. What disillusionment it causes if year after year they must say the same things and the leaders of their areas always recognize the justice of what they say, but nothing or

hardly anything changes in practice. Democracy is not a game with words, not an area for easy promises, but rather a possibility for action, a public forum for assuming responsibility, guiding and making use of ever richer and more varied social activity in the interest of the common good, thus a way of creating the socialist society. Young people always measure the entire system in the course of the concrete realization of the democratic principles.

There is no doubt that the various leading organizations and leading personalities play a key role in the realization of socialist democracy. The quality of the preparedness and understanding of the leaders, their methods of guidance, their entire behavior leave their stamp on the activity, atmosphere and public life of the given collective. By giving a socialist example and with their democratic methods they can use the creative enthusiasm of thousands and thousands in the work, preventing the accumulation of passions, the destructive effect of human frictions and clashes. For this reason improving the level of leadership and developing its democratic style are constant tasks. The realization of this is fed on the one hand by study, from the continual processing of ever new experiences, from a strengthening of social control. The other source is the constant renewal of the leadership, bringing into the guiding collective the young people who are outstanding in the various areas of social activity. In connection with this some collectives or all of public life are sometimes swept with the anxiety that there must be a rejuvenation. If this must be done with an operational character then it is also a criticism.

In the event of a natural realization of the principles of socialist democracy the generations which follow one another organically do not relieve or just replace one another, rather they exist and act linked together. In this sense "rejuvenation" is a constant task, a daily requirement of the constant renewal. A lag in this area can occur also. But even then the solution is not replacement but rather supplementing, filling in, a harmonic, proportional linking into the leadership of the older people with rich experience and the well prepared young people who have proven themselves in practice. The existence of a harmonic link between the generations in the leadership at every level and the renewal of the leadership as a natural process is, if you please, an interest of the entire nation.

On this occasion we do not want to deal in detail with questions of party democracy, but it must be emphasized that the democracy of party life and party activity is an organic stimulating component of socialist democracy. It follows from the leading role of our party that in its policy it sums up the experiences of society as a whole, brings together all those impulses--proposals, approving or critical opinions and positions--which come from the workers. The organizations of the party get their environments to accept their positions not with the word of command but rather with political tools, and in the course of this it must be apparent that they behave with respect toward the community. If internal oppositions strain a work collective, if there is an issuing of orders instead of leadership with a democratic atmosphere, most frequently confusion and problems occur in the local party organization also. Socialist democracy cannot flourish without living, creative party democracy.

We live and learn at the same time socialist democracy and the exercise of power. for this very reason we can be neither calm nor flustered. The designated path is correct, our political practice is capable of development. It depends on us, on the citizens, on the realization of the leading role of the party and on the quality of the operation of every social institution whether power and democracy will present a uniform practice in our public life.

8984

CSO: 2500/599

SOCIAL SECURITY PENSIONS INCREASED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian No 62, Part I 6 Aug 84 pp 1 -2

[Council of State Decree on Increasing Pensions, 1 August 1984]

[Text] In accordance with our party's consistent policy of continually raising all the people's standard of living and in conformity with the decisions of the 12th party congress and the national conference, the RCP CC Political Executive Committee has established that the state social security pensions should increase on 1 August 1984 for all categories of retirees, differentiated in proportion to the level of pension so that an average of around 5 percent real increase is provided.

In the application of these measures, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. Starting on 1 August 1984 the pensions paid from the state social security funds are increased an average of 12 percent.

Article 2. (1) The percentages of pension increases, differentiated by level of pension, are established in this way:

<u>Level of Pensions (lei)</u>	<u>Percentage of increase</u>	<u>Minimum Installment</u>
Up to 400	16.8	--
401-500	13.3	467
501-800	11.8	567
801-1,200	11.7	894
1,201-2,500	11.6	1,340
2,501-3,000	11.5	2,790
3,001-4,000	11.0	3,345
More than 4,000	10.5	4,440

(2) The increased pension cannot be less than the minimum level provided in the table in the paragraph above.

Article 3. The state social security pensions for heirs are increased 50, 75 or 100 percent of the increase attached to the holder's pension, according to whether one, two, three or more persons entitled to the pension as heirs are paid.

Article 4. Military pensions and pensions for invalids, orphans and war widows are increased in percentages and under the conditions provided by this decree for state social security pensions.

Article 5. Social assistance and assistance for the children as heirs of first and second degree invalids are increased by 60 lei a month.

Article 6. Starting on 1 August 1984, compensations for increasing the prices for agricultural food products, for electric power and heat, for natural gas and other fuels are to be given to the retirees with pensions of more than 3,000 and more than 2,500 lei, respectively, in the amounts provided by law.

Article 7. The increase provided by this decree also applies to the pensions to be established after 1 August 1984 in the case of persons who select as their base of calculation just the payments prior to 1 August 1984, in accordance with the law.

Article 8. The pensions and assistance provided by law in fixed quantities, which are to be given after 1 August 1984, cannot be less than those established up until this date , increased according to this decree.

Article 9. Fractions of a leu resulting from the calculations for increasing the pensions are rounded off to the nearest leu.

Article 10. The pensions increased according to this decree do not affect the rights for state allocations for children and the rents for homes established under the conditions of the law up until the date the pensions are increased.

Article 11. The sectors of activity with their own social security systems and pensions will apply the regulations included in this decree accordingly.

Article 12. The financial authority for increasing pensions and social security, military pensions and pensions for invalids, orphans and war widows is covered by the funds provided for this purpose in the state budget and from their own funds for the other categories of pensions.

8071  
CSO: 2700/256

ROMANIA

PENSIONS FOR FARMERS INCREASED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian No 62, Part I 6 Aug 84 p 2

[Council of State Decree on Increasing the Pensions of Members of the Agricultural Production Cooperatives and of Peasants With Their Own Plots in the Noncooperativized Zones]

[Text] Chapter I On Increasing the Pensions of Members of the Agricultural Production Cooperatives

Article 1. Starting on 1 August 1984 the pensions of members of the agricultural cooperatives are increased an average of 14.5 percent.

Article 2. The percentages of increase of the pensions, differentiated by levels of pension, are established as follows:

<u>Level of Pensions (lei)</u>	<u>Percentage of Increase</u>
Up to 100	21.1
101-200	14.3
201-300	14.2
301-400	14.1
401-500	14.0
501-600	13.9
601-700	13.8
701-800	13.7
801-900	13.6
More than 900	13.5

Article 3. The pension of an heir in fixed quantity, as provided by law, for children of cooperative members, orphans of one of the parents is increased to 137 lei for each child, while the pension of an heir for orphaned children of both parents is increased to 206 lei for each child.

Chapter II On Increasing the Pensions of Peasants With Their Own Plots in the Noncooperativized Zones

Article 4. Starting on 1 August 1984, the pensions of peasants with individual plots in the noncooperativized zones are increased an average of 15.8 percent.

Article 5. The percentages of increase in pensions, differentiated by level of the pension, are established as follows:

<u>Level of Pensions (lei)</u>	<u>Percentage of increase</u>
Up to 99	15.2
100	15.0
110	18.2
140	21.4

### Chapter III Joint Provisions

Article 6. Fractions of a leu resulting from the calculation of increasing the pensions are rounded off to the nearest leu.

Article 7. The provisions of this decree referring to increasing the pensions also apply to the pensions which are to be established after 1 August 1984.

Article 8. Financial authority for increasing the pensions is covered from the social security funds of each sector of activity.

8071  
CSO: 2700/256

PENSIONS FOR LAWYERS INCREASED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian No 62, Part I 6 Aug 84 p 3

[Council of State Decree on Increasing the Lawyers' Social Security Pensions]

[Text] In accordance with the measures on increasing pensions for all categories of retirees, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. Starting on 1 August 1984 the pensions paid from the funds of the lawyers' security bank are increased an average of 12 percent.

Article 2. (1) The percentages for increasing the pensions, differentiated by level of pension, are established as follows:

<u>Level of Pensions (lei)</u>	<u>Percentages of increase</u>	<u>Minimum installment</u>
Up to 400	16.8	--
401-500	13.3	467
501-800	11.8	567
801-1,200	11.7	894
1,201-2,500	11.6	1,340
2,501-3,000	11.5	2,790
3,001-4,000	11.0	3,345
More than 4,000	10.5	4,440

(2) The increased pension cannot be less than the minimum level provided in the table in paragraph (1).

Article 3. The pensions of the heir are increased by 50, 75 or 100 percent of the increase attached to the holder's pension, according to whether one, two, three or more persons entitled to the pension as heirs are paid.

Article 4. The social assistance and assistance for the children who are heirs first or second degree invalids are increased by 60 lei per month.

Article 5. Starting on 1 August 1984 the compensation for increasing the prices for agricultural food products, for electric power, heat, natural gases and other fuels are to be given to the retirees with pensions of more than 3,000 lei and more than 2,500 lei, respectively, in the quantities provided by law.

Article 6. The increases provided by this decree also applies to the pensions which are to be established after 1 August 1984 in the case of persons who choose as their base of calculations only the payments prior to 1 August 1984, in accordance with the law.

Article 7. The pensions and assistance provided in a fixed quantity by law which are to be given after 1 August 1984 cannot be less than those established up until this date, increased according to this decree.

Article 8. Fractions of a leu resulting from the calculations to increase the pensions are to be rounded off to the nearest leu.

Article 9. The pensions increased in accordance with this decree do not affect the allocation rights for children and rents for housing established under conditions of the law up until the date the pensions are increased.

Article 10. The financial authority for increasing the pensions is covered from the funds of the lawyers' security bank.

8071  
CSO: 2700/256

DEFENSE MINISTER VISITS OSIJEK GARRISON

LD151421 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 15 Sep 84

[Text] Osijek, 15 Sep (TANJUG)--Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and his aides ended their visit of several days to the Osijek garrison and some units of the Yugoslav People's Army in the Slavonija-Baranja region.

Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula and Lieutenant Colonel General Anton Lukezic, commander of the Sarajevo Military District, had talks with soldiers and officers and examined the general level of combat readiness and the moral and political situation. They also acquainted themselves with the results achieved in the implementation of our overall defense strategy. Assessing the results of our combative development as very significant and moral-political unity as stable, the federal secretary for national defense stressed the need for constant efforts and responsible work to further improve the training and education of the army. Admiral of the Fleet Mamula particularly stressed that all subjects involved in defense preparations should join forces even more and cooperate with each other for reasons of both rationality and cost-effectiveness and the uniformed defense strategy of our country.

It is necessary, the federal secretary said, to assume a more critical attitude when assessing every-day results, which is in the spirit of the documents of the 13th LCY Central Committee session and the tasks of implementing the long-term program of economic stabilization. During the forthcoming discussions within the party we must overcome existing weaknesses, since we have resources to do that, and we must strengthen the fundamental values of our society, Admiral of the Fleet Mamula stressed.

During his visit to the units of Slavonija-Baranja region the federal secretary took keen interest in the living and working conditions available to the soldiers and officers, and their standard of living and how to protect it. He stressed that the people's care and education must be constant and direct, based on traditions of our national liberation war and socialist revolution.

During his visit to Osijek Admiral Mamula and his aides had talks with representatives of socio-political organizations and the Osijek municipal community. The talks mainly dwelt on the defense and readiness and further measures to be taken to strengthen the system of all-people's defense and social

self-protection. It was agreed that noticeable progress had been made in training all the structures for defense. Attention was drawn to the need to further build and improve the mechanism of defense and self-protection in accordance with ideo-political principles and the overall socioeconomic potentials of this region.

CSO: 2800/495

YUGOSLAVIA

FEC PROPOSES ADDITIONAL FINANCE FOR PEOPLE'S ARMY

LD122353 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0939 GMT 12 Sep 84

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)--Another 12.7 billion dinars will be provided for the needs of the Yugoslav People's Army from the 1984 federal budget. This is also a brief summing up of the proposed rebalancing of the federal budget which the Federal Executive Council [FEC] presented to the SFRY Assembly with a request that it be considered in accordance with the abridged procedure.

It should be noted that the federal budget revenue will exceed the planned figure by about 14 billion dinars in 1984, at least, this possibility is indicated by the January-July period this year and the biggest part of this surplus will be used for supplementary financing of the Yugoslav People's Army. According to the proposed rebalancing and on the basis of the assessed budget possibilities and estimate of budget revenue up to the end of this year, the Yugoslav People's Army will receive a further 12.7 billion dinars.

The Yugoslav People's Army is financed from the federal budget at the rate of 5.2 percent of the national income. The total sum originally planned for the Yugoslav People's Army in this year's budget on the basis of this rate and the estimated rate of growth of national income was 231.6 billion dinars. However, national income is increasing at a considerably faster rate and if the rate of 5.2 percent were to be applied the allocation for financing the Yugoslav People's Army would total 284.9 billion dinars or 53 billion dinars more than envisaged in the federal budget. On the other hand, if the funds for the Yugoslav People's Army had not been increased, the percentage of revenue set aside for the Yugoslav People's Army would amount only to 4.23 percent of national income, which would have fallen short of what the Yugoslav People's Army is legally entitled to and what it needs.

CSO: 2800/495

YUGOSLAVIA

MANULA CONGRATULATES SAILORS ON NAVY DAY

LD110544 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0816 GMT 9 Sep 84

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Sep (TANJUG)--On the occasion of Yugoslav Navy, merchant Navy, and River Fleet day on 10 September, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, has sent cordial congratulations and comradely greetings to the sailors, cadets, officers, and civilians in the navy.

His greeting says: This year, as well as marking the 42d anniversary of the formation of our navy, we are also celebrating the 40th anniversary of the stationing of Comrade Tito, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, and the Supreme Command of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan detachments of Yugoslavia on the Island of Vis, and the 40th anniversary of the River Fleet. May these jubilees inspire you to new efforts in the further development of our navy and in strengthening the combat readiness of its commands, units, and institutions.

In your work so far, you have achieved notable results in the technical modernization of the service, in military expertise capabilities, in commanding and leadership, and in strengthening the moral-political unity of members of the navy. Thanks to your effort and dedication the navy, together with the other branches of the Yugoslav People's Army, Territorial Defense and all other components of all-people's defense, represents a reliable defender of our seas, islands, and coastline, capable of carrying out all its tasks within the framework of the uniform system of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

I am sure that you will continue to carry out, as you have done up until now, all the tasks entrusted to you self-sacrificingly and conscientiously, and that you will unswervingly defend Tito's path of socialist self-managing development in our country. I wish you much success in this.

On this occasion, I also send cordial greetings to the work collectives of our maritime economy, river shipping and ports, and to all working people who sail our seas, rivers and lakes, and who build our ships and make our shipping safe. I send greetings to the organizations of amateurs and members of sporting organizations in the realm of water sports, with the hope that they will achieve even greater successes in their work and contribute to further strengthening the defense capabilities of our socialist, self-managing, nonaligned community.

CSO: 2800/495

YUGOSLAVIA

OFFICIALS ATTEND COMMEMORATIVE MILITARY TRAINING

LD150212 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 14 Sep 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--A commemorative meeting was held at the Army Club in Topcider to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the First Army Group of the National Liberation Army and partisan units of Yugoslavia. The meeting was attended by Radovan Vlajkovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency; Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency; Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense; top military officers; members of the LCY Central Committee; representatives of the socio-political organs and organizations and of the Federation, Socialist Republic of Serbia and Belgrade; and surviving fighters of the first army group of the National Liberation Army and partisan units of Yugoslavia.

The commemorative meeting was opened by Lieutenant-Colonel-General Metodije Stefanovski, assistant federal secretary for national defense. Colonel-General Milan Bjelogrlic then spoke about the war exploits of the first army group of the National Liberation Army and partisan units of Yugoslavia.

If today, when marking the jubilee anniversary of the first army group, we try to underline some basic values of the development of our concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection at present and in the future, it seems to me, Bejelogrlic said, that special emphasis should be laid on the originality of our uprising, the organization of our armed forces, and our warfare strategy in waging armed struggle. All of our original solutions have proven themselves to be, in our conditions, more modern and efficient than anything we have been offered by others in the sphere of military thought. Our present system of all-people's defense and social self-protection has developed from our revolutionary practice. This system and our society must always be ready to defend the freedom, independence and constitutional order of Yugoslavia.

CSO: 2800/495

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ADOPTS PROPOSALS ON SOCIAL DIFFERENCES

LD121718 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 12 Sep 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)--At their session today, the first after the summer vacation, delegates of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber's Committee for Labor, Health and Social Policy adopted the proposed conclusions on tasks to prevent and eliminate social differences which are not the result of work. Following the debate in other working bodies, the proposal will probably be discussed by the Federal Chamber in October.

The proposed conclusions contain an assessment on how widespread social differences are which arise from abuse and attack on social property, in the spheres of employment and housing, and because of disunity and weaknesses in the tax system. One part of the conclusions is devoted to the policy which should be pursued in future, and the other part to the measures and activities of state and self-management organs.

The proposed social agreement on the foundations of the joint policy of employment in the SFRY, which have been prepared for nearly 2 years, was also adopted today. The agreement which elaborates the stabilization program envisages that the increase in unemployment should be halted next year. The point of departure is the need for productive employment in the social sector; measures are also proposed to make greater use of the possibilities for new jobs offered by the individual sector, artisan craft, industry, and agriculture. Some of the measures are designed to eliminate disproportions between jobs offered and the skill pattern of those looking for jobs. Adopting of this document, that is the elaboration of criteria who is really unemployed, will finally provide the answer to the question of how many unemployed there really are. One thing is certain, it was said at the session, that there are less than 952,000 at present looking for jobs.

CSO: 2800/495

YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAV VIEW OF BIG POWER INTERESTS IN BALKANS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 84 pp 16-17

[Article by Dr Ranko Petkovic: "The Continuing Target of Foreign Interests"]

[Text] After World War II, there were major changes in the Balkan area. First of all, the four European powers that had the greatest influence on Balkan events during the period between the two world wars--Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany--objectively lost the ability to continue to play such a role; next, the bloc groups headed by the U.S. and the USSR covered significant parts of the Balkan area, since Greece and Turkey joined NATO and Romania and Bulgaria joined the Warsaw Pact; and finally, Yugoslavia, which plays a significant role in the nonaligned movement, remained outside the bloc groups, while Albania, leaving the Warsaw Pact in the 1960's, was in a sort of non-bloc position.

In the first post-war years, the exacerbation in relations between the great powers also led automatically to a cooling of relations between their military-political groups. We are now witnesses to the way in which even during a phase of increased confrontation between the great powers, individual members of their military-political alliances are making efforts to bring about a relaxation of tensions. These changes in the conduct and activity of the great powers and the members of their military-politic groups are of great significance for preserving peace in Europe as a whole, and thus in the Balkans as well.

In a Bloc Sandwich

Furthermore, in the time that has passed in the European area, full political recognition has been gained by the neutral and nonaligned countries. From a formula that the great powers mostly ignored as a "lesser evil," while the smaller countries "stayed on the sidelines," neutrally has been transformed into a platform for effective political action in the interest of peace and security. At the same time, nonalignment has grown into an influential independent, non-bloc, and global force in international relations. The zone of non-bloc countries now links Scandinavia and the Balkans, passing through the very center of Europe. We are speaking of a major factor in European and Balkan security and cooperation, the significance is continually growing from the standpoint of historical dialectics

These circumstances demonstrate a relative increase in peace and security in the Balkans, but nevertheless, they do not make possible the mistaken conclusion that the Balkans have become a zone of peace and quiet. Not all of the causes of instability in the Balkans have been eradicated, nor can security in this region be separated from European and world security, which is continually suffering blows from the arms race, military interventions, and other forms of bloc confrontation.

The first factor that has an unfavorable influence on the Balkan situation is carried over from the central European area, in which the largest military forces of the Atlantic pact and the Warsaw Pact are confronting each other. The correction of a real or fictitious imbalance of forces through the deployment of a new missile weapon on European soil cannot help but concern the Balkan countries, especially those which are outside the blocs.

Another factor that has an unfavorable influence on the Balkan situation is carried over from the Mediterranean basin, where there has been no alleviation of the crisis hotbeds, such as those in the Middle East, in Lebanon and concerning Cyprus, branching out toward central Asia, the Red Sea, and northern Africa. The fleets of the great powers that are sailing the Mediterranean are tangible evidence of their presence, not only political but also military, in these disturbing events. An increase in the confrontation between the great powers in the Mediterranean area threatens all of the bordering areas, and thus the Balkans as well.

Basically, however, the Balkans can be happy that as one of the European regions that has traditionally represented storms of gunpowder, today they not only are not responsible for the exacerbation in the European area, but also possess not insignificant capabilities of contributing to strengthening peace and security in Europe.

The two non-bloc countries of the Balkans are the focus of the interest of the bloc powers:

Yugoslavia -- because of its geopolitical and military-strategic significance in the Balkans, and on the basis of a bloc assessment that a deterioration in its economic situation could lead to social upheavals, political instability, national disintegration, and circumstances that could return it to the sphere of influence of the East or the West.

Albania -- for the sake of naval bases on a key part of the Adriatic Sea, and on the basis of a bloc assessment that it could enter the sphere of influence of the East or West, especially after Enver Hoxha leaves the scene.

One should also not neglect the possibility of conflict situations that could result from an evolution in political positions or social shifts in the

countries that are members of the military-political alliances -- primarily in Romania and Greece, but also in the others. Although thus far there have been no cases of a bloc violating the other's zone of influence, such a possibility should not be completely ruled out, since the situation within the bloc groups and in their mutual relations is subject to dynamic changes.

There are also so-called autochthonous causes for disagreement or conflict among the Balkan countries (territorial, minority, ideological-political) that could, in certain circumstances, manifest themselves as a reason for aggression in this area. It is self-evident that even with respect to the so-called autochthonous causes of conflict among the Balkan countries, one should not, even for the blink of an eye, ignore the presence and activity of the great powers and bloc groups.

"Legitimate" and...

The USSR's interest in the Balkans is illustrated by several factors. The historical factor: although at a time when the Soviet Union has become a first-rank naval power, present on all of the larger world seas and oceans, emphasis on its long-standing aspiration to get out to the "warm sea" through the Balkan area cannot have the significance it once did, nevertheless, in its state policy, the Soviet Union shows its traditional interest in a presence and influence in the Balkans.

The geopolitical factor: the Soviet Union feels that geopolitical and geostrategic reasons justify its aspiration to be present in the Balkans, since it borders three Balkan countries -- Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

The ideological-political factor: just as Tsarist Russia claimed to be the "defender of Orthodoxy" in the area of the Balkans, sometimes, mutatis mutandis, the idea is emphasized that the USSR is predetermined to be the "defender of socialism" in the Balkan countries.

All of these three factors indicate that the USSR's interest in the Balkans is a constant in its policy.

As the leading force in the Western alliance, the U.S. has "legitimately" taken over from the other Western countries, and on their behalf, their historical interest in the situation and events in the Balkans.

In its global strategy, the U.S. considers its primary obligations to be opposing expansion of the other superpower's influence at every geopolitical point, and as part of this in the Balkans as well, and to ensure its own presence and influence.

Within this framework, the U.S. has ascribed great significance to its presence and influence in two of the Balkan countries, Greece and Turkey, but also in others as well.

A more dramatic situation in some other geopolitical areas where the U.S. presence is more direct or where its natural interests are more exposed, such as in Latin America or in the Pacific, could lead to more or less of a decline in the U.S.'s interest in the Balkans.

#### ...Other "Interests"

China's interest in the Balkans is of recent origin. During the 1960's, it appeared that China could play a more prominent role in the Balkan area: at the height of its confrontation with the USSR, it multiplied contacts with Romania and expanded its political and military presence in Albania. In the mid-1970's China normalized relations with Yugoslavia, but at the same time it broke off relations with Albania, and thus the suppositions about the possibility of creating a "pro-Chinese axis" in the Balkans (Bucharest-Belgrade-Tirana) turned out to be quite unfounded.

In view of the material capabilities of China, the coordinates of its national interests, and the real radius of its political activity, it would be unrealistic to expect it to take a more active role in the Balkans, except in the ideological-political area that contracts or expands in accordance with trends in the triangle of the great powers.

Great Britain's interest in the Balkans is much less today than could have been assumed on the basis of valid historical references. Since Great Britain has abandoned many significant political and economic interests "east of the Suez," and concentrated its attention on events in the Western alliance, the European Community, and the Commonwealth, it can be said that, ipso facto, it has delegated the U.S. to represent the overall Western interests in the Balkan area that was once so attractive to it.

Great Britain, however, has shown more pronounced interest with respect to Cyprus, where its military bases are located, and in everything that the Cyprus problem entails as consequences in the relations of two Balkan states -- Greece and Turkey.

France's interest in the Balkans is of a specific nature. Although it has lost its status as a great power in the sense in which it was one before World War II, France is displaying an ambition to play a certain political role in the areas where it was once physically present or which fell into its sphere of influence. In this context, it is primarily oriented toward Africa. The foundations for a French role in the Balkans lie in its aspiration to play an autonomous role in Europe within the framework of the political premises defined most fully by De Gaulle, and in the utilization of cultural-historical ties with individual Balkan countries (cultural affairs in relations with Romania; ties with Yugoslavia from the first and second World Wars; and even the circumstance that Enver Hoxha, for example, was educated in France, in relations with Albania).

It is obvious that the realistic possibilities for a greater French influence in the Balkan area are relatively small.

West Germany's interest in the Balkans is proportionate neither to its former expansionist ambitions, nor to its present economic potential. On the basis of its economic ties with the Balkan countries, it would be realistic to expect West Germany to have a greater political presence in the Balkans. It is well known that it is a significant economic partner for Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, and recently Albania as well. An enormous number of Yugoslav, Turkish, and Greek citizens are working temporarily in West Germany, while West German tourists are one of the most numerous groups of foreign tourists in the Balkan countries. Nevertheless, the political presence and influence of West Germany in the Balkan area are, one might say, almost negligible.

This is a consequence of the still living memories of the days of Hitler's aggression against the Balkans and the preoccupation of West Germany with events in the central European area, in relations between the superpowers, and in the world economy.

Italy's interest in having the Mediterranean coast of the Balkan peninsula come into its sphere of influence was cut short by the outcome of World War II: its defeat, the victory of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia and Albania, and Greece's joining NATO. The establishment of a definite territorial boundary between Yugoslavia and Italy on the basis of the 1955 Memorandum of Agreement and the 1975 Osimo Accords dealt the final blow to the revanchist forces in Italy who found it difficult to reconcile themselves to the loss of the position in the Adriatic area.

The deployment of missile weapons in Sicily shows that Italy is part of the Western alliance, but even at the expense of its own interests, it could play a more prominent role in the event of European and Balkan conflicts.

Finally, "delegated" by the West, but also in its interest, Italy could play a fairly significant role as well in attempts to draw Albania into the orbit of one bloc or the other.

#### Yugoslav Priorities

In view of such existing and possible situations in the Balkan area, from the standpoint of Yugoslavia's national interests, several lasting and mutually linked priorities stand out: the necessity of stabilization of the economic situation and consolidation of the political and social situation in Yugoslavia; the need for patiently resolving the disputed issues in the relations of all the Balkan countries and constant enhancement of good-neighbor cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual noninterference, and mutual interests; activity to transform the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation with no use of nuclear weapons or the use of any types of force; working toward a relaxation of international tensions and the transformation of the entire system of international political and economic relations on the basis of the premises of nonalignment.

YUGOSLAVIA

STATUS OF ISLAMIC ACTIVITY IN SERBIA DESCRIBED

Recent Occurrences

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1753, 5 Aug 84  
pp 12-14

[Article by Milan Lazarevic: "Islam in Serbia"]

[Text] Do we know enough about trends in the Islamic Community in the Serbian Socialist Republic? People believe that "something is going on" here as well, just as it is going on, after all, throughout the entire Islamic Community in Yugoslavia. Almost everything known and monitored extensively, however, is associated with trends in the Islamic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which can (to some extent) be understood, since it is traditionally the strongest Moslem group, the center of Islamic life in Yugoslavia; the Supreme Council of Elders, the Theological Faculty, the press -- all of this is in Sarajevo. There is a common trend in developments for the entire Islamic Community in Yugoslavia.

So what is the situation like in Serbia, which also has a considerable number of Islamic believers?

Views on the contemporary state of Islam in Yugoslavia and in Serbia are polarized over assessments of an "Islamic invasion" and claims of "suppression and inequality." The real truth, however, as shown by the recent discussion in the Coordination Board of the Republic Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Serbia on the religious communities, is far from these antagonizations and pretensions, which are more political than religious. Thus, there is neither an "Islamic invasion" nor a "counter-offensive by the state," but rather an effort to preserve the legacy of the earlier development of good relations against the impact of temptations from both sides, and to avoid destruction of the bridges between these religious communities and society.

A considerable contribution to this legacy was made by the former Reis-al-Ulema, Sulejman Kemura, and by the present one, Naim Hadziabdic, as well as by most of the imams, who accept the basic values of our society. All of the forums of the Islamic Community express a high opinion of the

recognition, equality, and unhindered development that have been made possible for this religious community in socialist Yugoslavia. This is eloquently indicated by the 800 mosques built since the war, the opening of several secondary schools and faculties, the development of intensive publishing activity, the cadre-organizational strengthening...

The views of both sides on the good relations, have served as a "background" for a "more aggressive" strategy in religious activity, which more and more often goes beyond the bounds of the Constitution and the law.

The new strategy has even been expressed in the most influential newspaper, PREPOROD. A strong group of intellectuals has gathered around the editorial office of this newspaper, and they often uncritically preach the values of Islam and oppose them to the values of society. Naturally, the editorial office usually does not do this directly, and, for example, would probably never admit that it is against the equality and emancipation of women, but for months now, as asserted by those who regularly monitor this newspaper, it has been publishing only pictures of women veiled in the Moslem manner.

#### Foreign Influence

As explained by Dragan Novakovic, an advisor of the Commission on Religious Issues of the Serbian Executive Council, the two main channels through which foreign influence penetrates are education and material assistance. Several generations of younger imams were educated in foreign and Islamic universities, and have been inflamed with ideas about reviving a combative, integralistic, and proselytizing Islam. They impose themselves with their knowledge and push aside the older imams in Yugoslavia; they become the proponents of a more aggressive strategy of action and of stronger ties between the believer and the Islamic community, often insisting on a revival of and consistent adherence to Islamic values that can hardly be combined with the basic commitments and values of this society.

People leave for education abroad without the knowledge of the Council of Elders of the Islamic Community for Serbia, the headquarters of which -- as is for the most part known only in informed circles -- is in Pristina. This council of elders does not give scholarships to the candidates, nor does it carry out the programs offered by the Supreme Council of Elders in Sarajevo. Nevertheless, the candidates leave on their own initiative and manage to obtain good scholarships immediately after arriving abroad. At the moment, there are 43 pupils from Kosovo and Macedonia being educated in Syria alone, and for the most part, these are in private schools. When one knows that the Theological Faculty in Sarajevo provides a solid and very high-level Islamic education, then it is clear that this education abroad does not serve the needs of religious education, but some other needs. The Islamic Community in Serbia has for the most part been spared major problems with cadres educated abroad. Some more recent examples, however, contradict such assessments. Thus, it has been learned that two imams

from Kosovo adopted fundamentalist views during their education abroad, and attempted to propagate them after returning to Yugoslavia. They asserted, among believers, that the true Islam was not being preached in Yugoslavia, that foreign elements alien to the "original" teaching had been introduced into it... Both of them were relieved of their duties on account of this.

Thus far delegations from the Islamic Community in Serbia have not gone abroad, nor have they received visits from Islamic delegations from Arab and other countries. The only direct foreign tie is believers' leaving for the pilgrimage to Mecca. Last year, after all, 140 people went on the pilgrimage organized by the Community, with a number of others going "independently."

Assistance from abroad is provided for the construction of mosques and religious schools, as well as for "current" needs. The state organs do not always have a full idea of the extent and nature of this assistance. The Islamic Community in Serbia, which of course has reason to be evaluated separately, has thus far not received organized assistance from abroad. Nevertheless, when it was clear that the new Medresa building in Pristina could not be completed with the existing funds, the Council of Elders in Pristina indirectly, through the Supreme Council of Elders in Sarajevo, accepted a million dollars in assistance from the Islamic Bank. The Council of Elders feels that this was not the most fortunate solution, but it was the only possible one to allow completing the project.

#### The Construction of Mosques

Even without organized foreign assistance, however, in the last few years mosques have been built at a rapid pace in Serbia, naturally primarily in Sandzak and in Kosovo. Furthermore, their construction, as was felt in the discussion in the Coordination Board, is assuming disturbing dimensions and a competitive nature in some areas. Sometimes they are even built without permission from the opstina organs, and political tensions are created in connection with the permits and the destruction of illegally built facilities. Not only villages, but even settlements compete in the construction. Believers provide not only money, but also materials and the labor force for the construction of mosques. The construction of mosques, which more and more often exceed the objective religious needs and the material capabilities of the believers, is also "pushed" by certain imams, who represent it as one of the basic religious duties and feel that there should be a mosque for every 500-600 believers.

A sort of moral-political indicator is represented by the fact that the official organs of the Islamic Community are not doing much to protect significant Islamic monuments that are often left to fall apart. For the most part, it is felt that this is the business of an institute for the protection of cultural monuments, and that "their money" should be spent on the construction of new mosques.

The Board's position is clear, and the leaderships of the Islamic Community must know that every illegally built mosque will be torn down. This position has particular "weight" because of the equality in interconfessional relations, especially in mixed areas where the religious communities compete among themselves in building mosques and churches. Member of the Presidency of the Republic Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia and former chairman of the Executive Council's commission on religious issues Vitomir Petkovic stresses the obligation of the SAMP to resist this kind of construction, which exceeds needs and capabilities, not because this has to do with mosques and other religious facilities, but rather because it is in principle opposed to such a practice.

Analogous positions have been stated in connection with the international contacts of the Islamic Community. The Socialist Alliance is not against them, but it is against any violation of fraternity and unity, of the principles and norms of this society, which these contacts can bring about. Belgrade mufti Hamdija Jusufspahic, eloquent and obviously with more than a religious education, has made an interesting comment. He states that the etymological root of the word "Islam" contains the word "SELAM" -- peace. In a word, Islam is a "religion of tolerance and cooperation" which, as the mufti asserts, in many of its elements has contributed to the adoption of a policy of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence in Islamic countries.

In recent years problems have appeared in relations between the Council of Elders of the Islamic Community in Pristina and the committee of the Islamic Community for Serbia proper. Specifically, forums and individuals from this area point out the fact that the Council of Elders does not show suitable interest in their work. A particular problem is the use of the Albanian language in instruction at the Pristina Medresa, as a result of which most of the visitors -- Moslems (from the ranks of the Moslem nation) -- are moving to Sarajevo for their education. The use of language is also causing disagreements in the work of the Association of the Clergy of Ilmija.

Believers and imams point out that the internal normative documents in the Islamic Community have become obsolete. The absence of internal democracy was most strongly expressed on the occasion of the recent elections for the president of the Council of Elders, for the committees, and for the Assembly of the Islamic Community in the Serbian Socialist Republic.

The Provincial Executive Council's commission on religious issues -- this was also the position of the leadership of the province -- supported mufti Muharem Adiljija as a candidate for the new president of the Council of Elders. Because of disagreements over the personality of the candidate, the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Community in the SFRV, which is responsible for selecting the presidents of the republic councils of elders, authorized the Supreme Council of Elders to make a selection. An extraordinary session of the republic Islamic Assembly was held in Pristina, which in a secret vote, selected Gnjilan mufti Jetis Bajrami, until then the deputy president of the Council of Elders, as the candidate. On the

basis of this, the Supreme Council of Elders confirmed the selection of Bajrami, who, however, is meeting with organized obstruction from individuals and groups, who are trying through letters and "petitions," even to the state organs, to upset his position. The Reis-al-Ulema has rejected any discussion of replacing Bajrami, since he was "elected democratically and legally, and has gained recognition as a figure with whom cooperation is possible, in addition to satisfying the interests of both society and the Islamic Community."

#### Irredentism Condemned

The general view is that the conduct of the Islamic Community in connection with the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo was correct. Not one imam or Medrasa pupil was observed participating in the demonstrations; the demonstrations and the demands of the demonstrators were condemned in telegrams to the presidencies of the Republic and the Province; and support was expressed for the measures taken by the sociopolitical community. In practice, a significant number of imams became involved in pointing out to believers the true goals of irredentism, and acting along the lines of fraternity and equality. Nevertheless, there was a more than negligible number of those who were passive; this, along with the other "indications," shows that some of the religious officials only condemned the demonstrations in form, keeping in mind their possible position in the conditions advocated by the irredentists.

For this reason, the discussion in the Board requested much more from the Islamic Community than "reservations" -- practical work "in the field" among believers, primarily in order to curb the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. It should be fully explained to believers what the religious (non)freedoms are like in Albania. Orthodox priest Dragomir Vidic was even more explicit, and emphasized the political and propagandistic significance of a decisive condemnation and prevention of the desecration of Orthodox cemeteries.

It would be difficult for anyone not to agree with these words, as well as with Vidic's touching reminder of how the recent visit by Reis-al-Ulema Hadziabdic to the grave of Priest Smiljanic in Zlatibor, which no one had even remembered to mark, grew into a demonstration of fraternity and unity.

#### [Boxed article: "Religious Instruction"]

The Islamic Community in the Serbian Socialist Republic has a total of 540 religious employees -- 376 active and 164 honorary. They have 540 facilities in which religious activity is conducted.

Religious instruction is carried out at 137 places with about 5,280 people attending. These data from the Council of Elders, however, were assessed as "forced" by the republic Assembly of the Islamic Community.

Until this year, the social community provided about 75 percent of the contributions for the retirement and health insurance of the employees of the Islamic Community. Because of an improvement in the financial position of the Islamic Community, now about 50 percent of the contributions are paid.

#### Dispute over Mosque Renovation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1753, 5 Aug 84  
pp 12-13

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "Disagreements over the New Barjakli-Mosque"]

[Text] People have been talking about the construction of the mosque in Belgrade for at least a year, but it was all somehow up in the air. All sorts of things were heard in this game of the Belgrade telephone out of order: it would be built in Karaburma, and below Kalemegdan, and in Novi Beograd, and it would be larger than the Zagreb mosque... That was how it was until POLITIKA's SVET, in April, was the first to publish the basic information on the mosque, which slowly began to worry the Belgrade public.

SVET writes that no new mosque is being built; instead, the famous Barjakli mosque at 11 Gospodar-Jevremova is being reconstructed and expanded. A model has been built, from which one can see what will be added; the new mosque will be next to the old one, "but in such a way that the old one will not lose any of its historic monumentality." Thus another new minaret will be raised next to the old one, and between them the old mosque will be covered by a cloister with glass cupolas. The author of the design, architect Mirjana Lukic, explained in SVET:

"In view of the lack of space at the site, the new facility is being built in the back. Underground, there will be a restaurant, the mufti's office, a reception room, a room for bathing the dead, a butcher shop for the slaughter of livestock in accordance with Islamic law, on which our country is spending considerable amounts of foreign exchange, apartments for the muezzin and the imam, classrooms for religious instruction, and a small drawingroom for women. If everything goes well, from the hundred usable square meters that the old mosque now has, we would obtain about 1900 square meters. The daylight would come through the glass cupolas..."

And when it was expected that the stories about the mosque would subside, the opposite occurred. The most upset were the next-door neighbors of the Barjakli-mosque -- the citizens of Dordjol, who were now learning from the newspapers what would be built on their territory. An uproar was created similar to the one in Dedinje (about the drug addiction center), although the Dordjol residents do not want their case to be compared to the Dedinje one.

Last week, at the last meeting of the City Assembly, Ljubomir Peruncic, the delegate from the Council of Opstinas, on behalf of the four local communities [MZ] that border the Barjakli-mosque (the Pero Popovic Aga MZ, the Kalemeđdan MZ, the Cukur-Cesma MZ, and the Donji Grad MZ), raised a delegate question or questions, which read approximately as follows: Is it correct that a mosque is being built in Dordjol? Were the local communities consulted? And what is the view on this of the Institute for the Protection of Monuments and for Planning?

Naturally, a response to this delegate question was not made immediately, but was instead scheduled for September.

At the City Committee for City Planning and Communal Industry, which is supposed to answer Peruncic, the deputy chairman of the committee, Sreten Jankovic, assured us that he could not tell us anything before 1 September, since the committee still had to receive an expert opinion and a response from the Institute for Planning the Development of Belgrade. Architect Mirjana Lukic, who developed the plan from the mosque (?!), is working on the response at the Institute, and she is currently on annual leave, Jankovic added. Architect Lukic was actually on leave, but on the other hand her supervisor Djordje Erak, the director of the Section for Detailed Planning, was at the Institute.

We immediately called his attention to the somewhat amazing fact that Architect Lukic had designed the mosque, and that she was the one who was supposed to give an expert opinion on the appropriateness of the design.

Erak agreed with this, and said that Mirjana Lukic had designed the mosque "outside the Institute, and that it was a completely private matter for her," and said that he would say so in the response that he would prepare for the City Assembly.

Erak added that Lukic's statement in SVET, in which she talked about how her design was to be examined by the Expert Council of the Institute for Planning, was irresponsible.

"Our main activity is planning, not designing," Erak stressed, and added that in the future everything possible would be done to avoid anything like what happened with Lukic.

The above-mentioned four local communities were upset by another part of the statement by architect Mirjana Lukic. This was the part in which she said that if her design got through the Expert Council of the Institute for Planning and the Commission of the Executive Council of the City Assembly, "I have to defend all this in the appropriate opstina and local community."

In the Pero Popovic Aga local community, which borders on the mosque, we spoke with Milomir Prijevic, the chairman of the SAWP in the local community, Jjuba Puric, the delegate to the Council of Opstinas, Milan

Pajic, the deputy secretary of the LC in the Pero Popovic Aga local community, Gradimir Pavlovic, a member of the Presidency of the Assembly of the local community, Zoran Mitic, chairman of the SUBNOR [Federation of Yugoslav War Veterans] in the Pero Popovic Aga local community, and Milorad Buric, chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Pero Popovic Aga local community.

They all said as one, "Probably we should have been approached first with the idea and the design for the new mosque, and then the institutes and the city. We are particularly hurt because we have had good relations with our next-door neighbor, Belgrade Mufti Hamdija Jusufspahic, for years now, and in spite of this he did not even indicate to us with a single word that preparations were being made for the construction of a new mosque."

We received an impression from the conversation that the citizens from this area of Dordjol are not bothered as much by the new mosque as by the idea of a slaughterhouse and a mortuary in the middle of the city. They reminded us that this area of Belgrade is very heavily populated, and that there are 80,000 square meters for 4,500 citizens, i.e. 18 square meters per citizen. In other words, the Dordjol residents have already become somewhat accustomed to the bells from the minaret, which can be heard all the way up to Kalemegdan, but in spite of the best of wills, they are not willing to tolerate a facility for slaughtering animals in accordance with Islamic law in the middle of the city, even with the argument that the state will save foreign exchange as a result of this. The Dordjol residents suspect that politics is being brought in by the back door here along with religious rites.

We also spoke with Belgrade Mufti Hamdija Jusufspahic. We immediately asked him to comment on this:

"It is inexplicable to me why there is so much excitement over the building of a single mosque in Belgrade, when it is well known that 500 years ago there were as many as 273 of them. We need the new mosque because the old one has become too small for us. It has the capacity for 150 believers to worship in it, although there are now 300 of us worshipping, and by my estimate we have over 60,000 believers in Belgrade. Furthermore, we do not have any administrative or cultural offices; we have books, but we do not have a library..."

"When did you request permission for the new mosque?"

"Last April, through the regular procedure, we contacted the Assembly of the city of Belgrade, more precisely the Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities. We also spoke with the president of the City Assembly. When we did, we said that we were not insisting that the mosque be at this location. In a word, we do not want to put Belgrade in an awkward situation."

"Is there any favorable news?"

"We inquire regularly. The last time we inquired was last week, when our answer was that we should be patient."

"Have you obtained the money for building the mosque? And is it true that Libyan President Muammar al Qadhafi has also offered monetary assistance?"

"The funds have mostly been obtained, although thus far we have not received even a dinar of assistance from abroad, nor would we accept it if it were made conditional upon any kind of concession. It is true that during last year's visit to Belgrade President Qadhafi offered assistance during the service in this mosque."

After the official interview, which was extended along with an extra cup of coffee, the mufti greeted us with the sentence, "I came to Belgrade to bring people closer together, not to divide them." It is left for us to believe deeply in the mufti's words.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

DIZDAREVIC MESSAGE TO IRAQ--Baghdad, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tariq Aziz received a message from Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raid Dizdarevic in Baghdad today, Wednesday. The message presents Yugoslavia's views on the present state of international affairs and also pertains to the efforts made by Yugoslavia and other non-aligned countries toward improving world relations and easing and solving crises, including the Iraq-Iran war. In a talk with Yugoslav Ambassador to Iraq Dzevad Mujezinovic, Tariq Aziz underlined the closeness of the two countries' views on the questions discussed. Aziz presented Iraq's views on the situation in the region and the Iraq-Iran war. He reiterated official Baghdad's readiness to support all efforts--within the non-aligned movement and elsewhere--aimed at ending the war between Iraq and Iran, two neighbouring and non-aligned countries. [Text] [LD131907 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1124 GMT 13 Sep 84]

BELORUSSIAN DELEGATION VISITS SLOVENIA--Ljubljana, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--Andrej Marinc, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee, received in Ljubljana today the delegation of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers which is paying a friendly and official visit to Slovenia. Members of the delegation, led by Vladimir Ignatyevich Brovikov, chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers, also visited the Slovene Republic Assembly. Vinko Hafner, president of the Slovene Republic Assembly, briefed the guests from Belorussia on the activity of the delegate assembly system. Particular attention was paid to the significance of comprehensive cooperation between Slovenia and Belorussia within the framework of the Yugoslav-Soviet relations, and cooperation so far was assessed as successful. It was stressed in this context that many possibilities existed to expand and deepen the economic contacts in particular, new forms of cooperation, and exchange of achievements in the sphere of science, technology and culture. [Text] [LD142238 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 14 Sep 84]

MOJSOV IN ETHIOPIA--Addis Ababa, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--Presidency of Yugoslavia member Lazar Mojsov and Yemen People's Democratic Republic Supreme People's Council Presidium President and Secretary-General of the Yemen Socialist Party 'Ali Nasir Muhammad discussed in Addis Ababa possibilities of expanding cooperation and carrying out a number of economic projects. Mojsov attends in Addis Ababa the celebration of the Ethiopian revolution anniversary. During the meeting with Muhammad the situation in the Middle East, particularly the Red Sea and the Gulf region, was discussed. The talks particularly focused on

non-aligned countries activities aimed towards solving the complex international situation. Mojsov also had a meeting with Djibouti President Hassan Bouled Aptidon and the ensuing talks focused on possibilities for promoting bilateral relations, in the area of economy in particular. Mojsov and Aptidon also discussed the situation in Africa and efforts being invested towards overcoming current difficulties on the continent. [Text] [LD131849 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 13 Sep 84]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO MALI--Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--By a decree of the SFRY Presidency, Dusan Grubor, hitherto head of department in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Mali. [Text] [LD140615 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0754 GMT 13 Sep 84]

NEW AMBASSADOR FOR NICARAGUA--Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--Radovan Vlajkovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, today received in the Palace of the Federation Ivica Kojic, the newly-appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Nicaragua, before his departure to take up his new duties. [Text] [LD140615 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0848 BMT 13 Sep 84]

PERTINI RECEIVES SFRY AMBASSADOR--Rome, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--Italian President Sandro Pertini pointed out that further strengthening of the friendly relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, two exemplary neighbours, is important for the further strengthening of peace in this part of the world. President Pertini stated this today on accepting the letters of credence from Yugoslavia's new ambassador to Italy Ante Skataretiko. On this occasion, too, the Italian president reiterated that the death of President Tito, his great friend, was a great loss to Yugoslavia, and stressed the conviction that Yugoslavia will continue with Tito's policy. President Pertini added that he was personally assured of this during his most recent visits to Yugoslavia. [Text] [LD132222 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1912 GMT 13 Sep 84]

AUSTRIAN REFERENDUM--Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Zeljko Jeglic told a press conference here today that the recent referendum on an initiative to abolish bilingual instruction in schools in Austria's southern province of Carinthia was an abuse of democratic instruments aimed at limiting the rights of the Slovene minority in the province. The referendum was out of keeping with the Austrian state treaty, and only 8.9 percent of voters turned up, Jeglic said. This was not very encouraging for Carinthia's Heimatdienst and the provincial Liberal Party, the initiators of the referendum, he said. The referendum encountered "broad opposition by democratic forces" throughout neighbouring Austria, Jeglic said. [Text] [LD131958 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 13 Sep 84]

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